







LC 9.5 (44) 449

2 1/2
591 / OCA

THE MUSEUM
OF
CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES:
A QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF
ARCHITECTURE
AND THE SISTER BRANCHES OF
CLASSIC ART.



VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.
1851.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

	PAGE
<i>Preface</i>	i
(I.) On the Advantage of the Study of Antiquity, and on Excellence in Art. By the EDITOR	1
(II.) On the Rapid Destruction of Ancient Monuments: being a Portion of the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed by FRA GIOVANNI GIOCONDO to his <i>Corpus Inscriptionum</i>	17
<i>Building Laws.</i> (XXV.) On the Building Act of the Emperor Zeno: being the Police Regulation or Law of the Emperor Zeno, on the Construction and Disposition of Private Houses in Constantinople, by H. E. DIRKSEN; translated by W. R. HAMILTON, F.R.S. To which is added, by the same, a Collection of several Imperial Laws enacted during the third and three following centuries of our æra	305
<i>Egyptian-Doric Columns.</i> (VIII.) On some Egyptian-Doric Columns at Thebes. By EDWARD FALKENER	87
<i>Elgin Marbles.</i> (XXVII.) Extract from the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculp- tured Marbles	403
<i>Excavations.</i> (XXIII.) A General Statement of the Excavations of Ancient Monuments in the kingdom of Naples, from 1830 to 1849, during the office of CARLO BONUCCI, Director-General of the Excavations	285
<i>Exhibition-Building.</i> (X.) On the Application of Polychromy to Modern Architecture, as exemplified in the Decoration of the Exhibition-Build- ing in Hyde Park. By EDWARD FALKENER	98
<i>Lesche.</i> (V.) On the Paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi. By W. WATKISS LLOYD.	
Part I. The Painting on the right-hand wall	44
(XIII.) Part II. The Painting on the left-hand wall	103
(VIII.) On the Plan and Disposition of the Greek Lesche. By the EDITOR	78
<i>Lycia.</i> (V.) Communication from PROFESSOR SCHOENBORN, of Posen, re- lative to an important Monument recently discovered by him in Lycia .	41
<i>Mausoleum.</i> (XV.) On the Mausoleum, or Sepulchre of Mausolus, at Halicar- nassus. By EDWARD FALKENER	157
<i>Minerva.</i> (XVI.) Description of a very ancient Statue of Minerva at Athens. By GEORGE SCHARF, Jun.	190
<i>Museums.</i> (XIX.) Remarks on the Collections of Ancient Art in the Museums of Italy, the Glyptothek at Munich, and the British Museum. By CHARLES NEWTON, M.A.	205
<i>Nineveh.</i> (XI.) Discoveries at Nimrood: being a Communication from THOMAS N. LYNCH, dated Bagdad, 17th November, 1850	97
<i>Pæstum.</i> (IV.) Description of one of the City Gates of Pæstum. By PRO- FESSOR T. L. DONALDSON	35
<i>Parthenon.</i> (XXVI.) On the Lost Group of the Eastern Pediment of the Par- thenon. By EDWARD FALKENER	353

	PAGE
<i>Polychromy.</i> (III.) On the Polychromy of Greek Architecture. By I. I. HITTORFF, of Paris	20
——— (XX.) On the Study of Polychromy and its Revival. By GOTTFRIED SEMPER, of Dresden	228
——— (See <i>Sculpture</i> .)	
<i>Sculpture.</i> (XXI.) On the Polychromy of Sculpture: being Recollections of Remarks on this Subject by the late Professor C. O. Müller. By GEORGE SCHAFÉ, Jun.	247
<i>Xanthus.</i> (XXII.) On the Ionic Heroum at Xanthus, now in the British Museum. By EDWARD FALKENER	256

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

I. <i>The Classical Museum</i> , 1844—1850. (Art. XI.)	93
II. <i>Archæologische Zeitung</i> , 1843—1850. (Art. XVIII.)	203
III. <i>Annali, Bullettino e Monumenti, dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archæologica di Roma</i> , Part I. (Art. XXIV.)	295

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Rev. I. C. BRUCE. <i>The Roman Wall: a Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.</i> 8vo. 1851	193
Professor BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., and C. H. NEWMARCH, Esq. <i>Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the Site of the Ancient Corinium.</i> 4to. 1850	197
ARCHIT. ARCHÆOL. AND HIST. SOC. OF CHESTER. <i>Journal.</i> Part I. 8vo. 1850	201
E. A. FREEMAN, M.A. <i>A History of Architecture.</i> 8vo. 1849	200
E. GERHARD. <i>Mykenische Alterthümer.</i> 4to. 1850	200
E. GETTY, M.R.I.A. <i>Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland.</i> 4to. 1850.	202
ANTONIO MAGRINI, Abate. <i>Memorie intorno la Vita e le Opere di Andrea Palladio.</i> 4to. 1845	95
GIO. ORTI MANARA. <i>Di un Antico Monumento dei tempi Romani che trovasi nella terra delle Stelle presso Verona.</i> 8vo. 1848	199
A. G. B. SCHAYES. <i>Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique.</i> Tome Premier. 12mo. 1850	96
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. <i>Collectanea Antiqua</i>	96
——— <i>The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lympne, in Kent.</i> 4to. 1850	96
MARCUS WARD AND CO. <i>St. Patrick's Bell and its Jewelled Shrine.</i> Small folio. 1850	202
A. CH. AD. ZESTERMANN. <i>De Basilicis.</i> Libri Tres. 4to. 1847	95

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<i>Aristion.</i> Monument of Aristion, at Marathon. (Lithograph)	252
<i>Bellerophon and the Chimera.</i> A Terra Cotta in the British Museum.	133
——— from Cos	252
<i>Celenderis.</i> A Tomb at Celenderis, in Cilicia. (Lithograph)	188
<i>Egyptian-Doric.</i> Capital of an Egyptian-Doric Column.	87
<i>Eleusis.</i> Plan of Temple of Ceres, at Eleusis	173
<i>Karnak.</i> Plan of Southern Temple at Karnak	89

	PAGE
<i>Laiseion.</i> Antiope and Theseus	137
<i>Lesche.</i> Riepenhausen's Plan of the <i>Lesche at Delphi</i>	78
Proposed Plan " "	81
The Painting by Polygnotus on the right-hand Wall. (Engraving) .	76
————— on the left-hand Wall. (ditto) .	130
<i>Mausoleum.</i> Texier's Design for	160
Fergusson's	162
Cockerell's	164
Lloyd's	164
Proposed Plan of	171
Peribolus of	175
Elevation, as restored. (Lithograph)	178
Trunk of Statue of Mausoleum	186
<i>Micipsa.</i> The Tomb of Micipsa, at Souma, in Algeria. (Lithograph) . .	172
<i>Minerva.</i> Birth of Minerva on Beugnot Vase	358
————— Cospiano Mirror, Bologna	356
————— Passeri Lamp	375
————— Vase in Museo Gregoriano	372, 374
————— Winckelmann Bas-relief	380
————— An ancient Statue of Minerva, discovered on the Acropolis at Athens. (Lithograph)	192
<i>Munich.</i> Plan of Ruhmeshalle	80
<i>Oorân.</i> Monument at Oorân, in Asia Minor. (Lithograph)	174
<i>Pæstum.</i> Plan of one of the City Gates at Pæstum	36
Restored View of	39
<i>Parthenon.</i> Reduced Fac-simile of Carrey's Drawing of Eastern Pediment	353
The Eastern Pediment, as restored by E. Falkener. (Transfer on Stone)	402
The Western Pediment (ditto)	402
Fragment of Two Feet. (Elgin Marble)	383
Bust of Nike. (ditto)	386
Minerva as an Acroterial Ornament	402
<i>Rome.</i> Plan of Portico of Philip at Rome	82
<i>Roman Wall.</i> Sections of Roman Wall of Severus	193, 195
<i>Tivoli.</i> Plan of Pæcile in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli	84
<i>Xanthus.</i> The Ionic Heroum at—Plan of Model in British Museum . .	257
————— Actual Plan. (Engraving)	262
————— Perspective View. (Lithograph)	256
————— Coloured Decoration of Lacunaria. (Engraving)	282
————— Sculpture of Upper Frieze. (Engraving) . .	284
————— Architrave and Cornice of Doorway . . .	267
————— Lion	268
————— Ionic Base-moulding	271
————— Figure of a Persian	279
————— Harpagus and the Lycian Chiefs	139
————— Coins of Ionic Cities	141—149
————— Harpy Tomb—Bas-reliefs	191, 253
————— Sphinx	251

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE ROYAL LIBRARY.

- Rev. Dr. AITKIN, Minto.
 ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, Library of the British—
 ———— INSTITUTE, Library of the—
 ARTHUR ASHPITEL, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., 8, Carlton Chambers.
 WILLIAM ATKINS, Esq., Architect, 6, Adelaide Place, Cork.
 Rev. JAMES ATLAY, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.
 G. W. AYLMER, Esq., M. Dil. S., 47, Upper Grosvenor-street.
 Rev. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, M.A., St. John's Coll., Camb.
 Rev. CHARLES BADHAM, the Lodge, Louth.
 CHARLES BAILY, Esq., F.S.A., Sec. Archæol. Association.
 EDWARD BANKS, Esq., Architect, Wolverhampton.
 W. BURCKHARDT BARKER, Esq., Oriental Interpreter, Foreign Office.
 WILLIAM BEHNES, Esq., Sculptor in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 13, Osnaburgh-street, Regent's-park.
 JAMES BELL, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 15, Langham-pl.
 THOMAS BELLAMY, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 8, Charlotte-st., Bedford-sq.
 BERLIN — Königliche Academie der Wissenschaften.
 ———— Bibliothek.
 ———— Technische-Bau-deputation.
 ———— Architekten-Verein.
 ———— Excell. P. L. W. Beuth, Wirklicher Geheimerrath.
 ———— Professor Strack, Hof-Baurath.
 ———— Wissenschaftliche-Kunst-verein.
 SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum.
 Rev. J. W. BLAKESLEY, B.D., Ware Vicarage, Herts.
 Sir J. P. BOILEAU, Bart., 20, Upper Brook-st.
 BONN. La Bibliothèque de l'Université.
 JOHN R. BOTHAM, Esq., Architect, Birmingham.
 BERTHA BOTFIELD, Esq., M. Dil. S., Hon. F.R.I.B.A., Norton Hall, North Hants.
 WILLIAM A. BOULNOIS, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., 46, Great Marlborough-st.
 F. H. BOWRING, Esq., M.A., 1, New-square, Lincoln's Inn.
 EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY, Esq., F.S.A., Russell Institution.
 BRITISH MUSEUM; Medal Room Library.
 Rev. W. E. BUCKLEY, M.A., East India Coll., Haileybury.
 Prof. JAMES BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S., Cirencester.
 E. H. BUNBURY, Esq., M.P., 15, Jermyn-st.
 His Excellency the CHEVALIER BUNSEN, 9, Carlton-house-terrace.
 The Very Rev. GEORGE BUTLER, D.D., Dean of Peterborough.
 GEORGE BUTLER, Esq., M.A., Ex. Coll. Oxon. Durham University.
 WILLIAM CHAFFERS, Jun., Esq., F.S.A., 32, Watling-st.
 W. G. CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb.
 THOMAS SOMERS COCKS, Esq., M.P., 15, Hereford-st., Park-st.
 WILLIAM T. COLLINGS, Esq., B.A., F.L.S. and G.S., Trinity Coll. Cambridge.
 Rev. JOHN DAY COLLIS, M.A., Head Master of Bromsgrove School.
 JAMES N. COLLYER, Esq., 4, Queen's-sq., Blooms.
 PATRICK COLQUHOUN, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., Temple.
 GEORGE CORNER, Esq., F.S.A., Tooley-street.
 Rev. J. E. COX, M.A., F.S.A., 44, Burton-crescent.
 EDWARD CRESY, Esq., S. Darent, near Dartford.
 H. ASTLEY DARBISHIRE, Esq., 20, Keppel-st.
 Rev. CHARLES U. DASENT, B.A., Royal School, Armagh.
 The Right Rev. The Lord BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, Abergwili Palace.
 F. H. DAVIS, Esq., F.S.A., Registrar of the Court of Chancery.
 PHILIP H. DELAMOTTE, 24, Newton-road, Bayswater.
 S. P. DENNING, Esq., Hatfield Hall, Durham.
 JOHN DOBSON, Esq., Architect, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 T. L. DONALDSON, Esq., Prof. of Architecture, London University, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Bolton-gardens.
 GEORGE DRAPER, Esq., Architect, Chichester.
 The DURHAM SCHOOL LIBRARY.
 ROBERT EBBELS, Esq., Architect, Tottenhall Wood, Wolverhampton.
 Rev. EDWARD ELDER, M.A., Durham.

- RICHARD ELLESON, Esq., Sudbrooke Holme, Lincoln. (*TWO COPIES.*)
 WILLIAM EUING, Esq., 209, Brandon-pl., Glasg.
 WILLIAM EWART, Esq., M.P., 6, Cambridge-sq. Hyde Park.
 Rev. WILLIAM EWING, Vicarage, Donegal.
 Sir CHARLES FELLOWS, 4, Montague-place.
 JAMES FERGUSON, Esq., F.R.G.S., 20, Langham-place.
 THOMAS QUESTED FINNIS, Esq., Alderman, Park-gate, Wanstead.
 Rev. FRANCIS FRANCE, M.A., St. John's Coll., Cambridge.
 BARTHOLOMEW FRERE, Esq., M. Dil. S., 23, Old Burlington-street.
 SAMUEL CHARLES FRIPT, Esq., Architect, Clifton.
 H. B. GARLING, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., 11, King's-rd. Bedford-row.
 SAMUEL GARLING, Esq., India.
 Rev. E. H. GIFFORD, King Edward's School, Birminghams.
 GEORGE GIVEN, Esq., Architect, Newtown Limavady, Co. Londonderry, Ireland.
 Rev. CHARLES O. GOODFORD, Eton College, Windsor.
 Sir HARRY DENT GORING, Bart., Bayswater-house, 54, Porchester-terrace, Hyde-park.
 NATHANIEL GOULD, Esq., F.S.A., 4, Tavistock-square.
 ARTHUR J. GREEN, Esq., St. Mildred's-court.
 JOHN E. GREGAN, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Manchester.
 Rev. JOHN GRIFFITHS, M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
 WILLIAM G. HABERSHON, Esq., 38, Bloomsbury-square.
 EDWARD HAILSTONE, Esq., F.S.A., Horton-hall, Bradford, Yorkshire.
 ARTHUR W. HAKEWELL, Esq., Architect, Longthorpe, near Peterborough.
 TERRICK HAMILTON, Esq., F.R.G.S., 121, Park-street, Grosvenor-square.
 WILLIAM R. HAMILTON, Esq., F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.R.L.S., 12, Bolton-row. (*TWO COPIES.*)
 Rev. JOHN HANNAH, M.A., Rector of the Edinburgh Academy.
 PHILIP HARDWICK, Esq., R.A., 21, Cavendish-sq.
 JOHN HARRISON, Esq., 3, Grosvenor-gate, Park-lane.
 R. J. HARVEY, Esq., Household House, near Norwich.
 M. ROHDE HAWKINS, Esq., Archt., Brit. Mus.
 WALTER HAWKINS, Esq., F.S.A., 5, Leonard-place, Kensington.
 JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., 5, Eaton-place.
 JOHN HOGG, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., 12, King's-bench-walk, Temple.
 H. HOLLAND, Esq., 46, Montague-square.
 Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M.A., Prin. of Coll. Inst., Liverpool.
 E. S. JACKSON, Esq., Totteridge, Herts.
 Rev. Canon JAMES, Winchester, Hants.
 EDWARD JANSON, Jun., Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Lawrence Pountney-lane.
 WILLIAM IFOLD, Esq., 33, Manchester-street.
 Rev. H. JENKYN, D.D., the College, Durham.
 Rev. BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
 JOHN KIRKPATRICK, Esq., 2, Mitre-court Buildings, Temple.
 LEOPOLD JAMES LARDNER, Esq., Brit. Mus.
 ALEXANDER LEAN, Esq., 55, Brompton-row.
 Rev. SAMUEL LEE, D.D., Barley Rect., Royston, Herts.
 LEIPZIG. A. Zestermann, Ph. D.
 P. LEVESQUE, Esq., F.S.A., 29, Guildford-street, Russell-square.
 Rev. H. G. LIDDELL, M.A., Dean's-yard, Westm.
 W. WATKISS LLOYD, Esq., 77, Snow-hill.
 Rt. Hon. Lord LONDESBOROUGH, 144, Piccadilly.
 GEORGE LONG, Esq., M.A., 5, York-pl., Brighton.
 WILLIAM BELL MACDONALD, Esq., Rammer-scales, Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire.
 Major-Gen. D. McLEOD, 3, Clifton-pl., Hyde-park.
 Rev. J. R. MAJOR, D.D., King's College.
 MANNHEIM.—Messrs. Artaria and Fontaine.
 Rev. THOMAS MARKBY, B.A., King's College.
 MICHAEL MEREDITH, Esq., Architect, 7, Great Winchester-street.
 JOHN MIDDLETON, Esq., Architect, Bondgate, Darlington.
 HERBERT MINTON, Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent.
 GEORGE MOORE, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., 64, Lincoln's-inn-fields.
 Major-Gen. Sir WILLIAM MORRISON, C.B., F.R.S., M.P., 16, Savile-row.
 Rev. JEROM MURCH, Queen's-parade, Bath.
 Colonel MURE, M.P., 8, Suffolk-street, Haymarket.
 JOHN NARRIEN, Esq., Roy. Mil. Coll., Sandhurst.
 EDWIN NASH, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., 5, Adelaide-place, London Bridge.
 JOSEPH NEELD, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Hon. F.R.I.B.A., 6, Grosvenor-sq.
 FRANCIS BROWNE NEWMAN, Esq., Architect, 14, Heathcote-street, Mecklenburgh-square.
 F. W. NEWMAN, Esq., Latin Professor, University College, London.
 CHARLES NEWTON, Esq., M.A., British Museum.
 Rev. C. G. NICOLAY, King's College.
 The Most Hon. the late Marquis of NORTHAMPTON.
 JAMES HENRY PORTEUS OAKES, Esq., Now-ton Court, near Bury St. Edmund's.
 BENJAMIN OLIVEIRA, Esq., F.R.S., 8, Upper Hyde-park-street.
 PARIS—Monsieur J. J. Hittorff, Architecte.

- WILLIAM A. PARKER, Esq., Edinburgh, Hon. Sec. Archit. Inst., Scotland.
- T. GAMBIER PARRY, Esq., Highnam-court, near Gloucester.
- GEORGE PATTON, Esq., 30, Heriot-row, Edinb.
- F. C. PENROSE, Esq., M.A., F.R.I.B.A., 4, Traf.-sq.
- Rev. JOHN LEWIS PETIT, M.A., F.S.A., 9, New-square, Lincoln's-inn-fields.
- Rev. AUG. FRED. PETTIGREW, M.A., 18, Alfred-place, Brompton.
- T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. and Treas. Brit. Arch. Assoc., 8, Savile-row.
- JAMES PILLANS, Esq., A.M., Latin Professor, University of Edinburgh.
- GEORGE PLUCKNETT, Esq., 11, Frederick-street, Gray's-inn-road.
- WM. WILLMER POCOCK, Esq., B.A., F.R.I.B.A., &c., 10, Trevor-terrace, Knightsbridge.
- POSEN.—Professor A. Schoenborn.
- Rev. R. COWLEY POWLES, M.A., Ex. Col., Oxf.
- GEORGE POWNALL, Esq., Architect, 37, Bloomsbury-square.
- Rev. G. PRINGLE, Old Hall, Ware, Herts.
- WILLIAM PYPER, Esq., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Univ. St. Andrew's.
- WILLIAM RAMSAY, Esq., A.M., Latin Professor, University of Glasgow.
- ROBERT RAWLINSON, Esq., C.E., 17, Ovington-square, Brompton.
- HARRY R. RICARDO, Esq., Beaulieu Lodge, Norwood.
- ANTHONY RICH, Jun., Esq., B.A., 58, Cambridge-street, Hyde-park.
- Rev. S. J. RIGAUD, M.A., F.R.A.S., Gram. School, Ipswich.
- W. H. ROLFE, Esq., Sandwich.
- ROME—Benjamin Gibson, Esq., Sculptor.
- Henry Tolley, Esq.
- JOHN RUSSELL, Esq., Rector of the Grammar School, Peebles.
- FRANCIS R. SANDFORD, Esq., Bal. Coll., Oxon., Downing-street.
- Rev. E. J. SELWYN, M.A., Head Master of Blackheath Proprietary School.
- G. T. WALDO SIBTHORPE, Esq., Branston, near Lincoln.
- GEORGE ROBERT SMITH, Esq., M. Dil. S., 4, Great Cumberland-place, Hyde-park.
- Rev. Prof. PHILIP SMITH, B.A., New Coll., London.
- WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., LL.D., 31, Regent's Villas, St. John's Wood.
- J. H. SOLLITT, Esq., 2, Railway-place, Hull.
- S. R. SOLLY, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., 10, Manchester-square.
- Rev. J. IL SPRY, D.D., 13, Devonshire-pl., Regnt.-pk.
- HENRY J. STEVENS, Esq., Architect, Derby.
- WILLIAM STEWART, Esq., Seacombe, Cheshire.
- CHARLES STOKES, Esq., F.R.G.S., 65, Brook-st., Hanover-square.
- C. STOKES, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 4, Verulam-build., Gray's-inn.
- RICHARD SUTER, Esq., Arch., 3, Up. Woburn-pl.
- Rev. G. C. SWAYNE, M.A., Cor. Chris. Coll., Oxf.
- JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, Esq., M.D., Berkeley-square, Bristol.
- BENJAMIN TABBERER, Esq., Architect, King-street, Leicester.
- Rev. JOHN JAMES TAYLER, B.A., 18, York-place, Manchester.
- Rev. G. F. DE TEISSIER, M.A., Woodcote-park, Epsom.
- Rev. W. HEPWORTH THOMPSON, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
- WILLIAM TITE, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., 42, Lowndes-square.
- LEWIS H. J. TONNA, Esq., Secretary United Service Institution.
- Sir W. C. TREVELYAN, Bart., M.A., F.G.S., F.L.S., Edinburgh.
- JOHN ROBERT DANIEL TYSEN, Esq., F.S.A., Manor-house, Hackney.
- THOMAS BAMPFIELD UTTERMARE, Esq., Langport, Somersetshire.
- VICENZA—La Bibliotheca Communale di—
- HENRY VINT, Esq., F.S.A., Saint Mary's Lodge, Colchester.
- Rev. GEORGE WALLACE, Head Master of the King's School, Canterbury.
- J. F. WALTON, Esq., 51, Great Marlborough-st.
- CHRISTOPHER KNIGHT WATSON, Esq., Trin. Coll., Cambridge.
- ALBERT WAY, Esq., M.A., Hon. Sec. Archæol. Inst. of Great Britain.
- Rev. T. W. WEARE, M.A., Dean's-yd., Westm.
- Rev. HENRY WELLESLEY, D.D., Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford.
- CONRAD WETTER, Esq., 67, Myddleton-square.
- Rev. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A., Rochester.
- ALFRED WHITBY, Esq., Brandon House, near Coventry.
- GEO. WIGHTWICK, Esq., Archit., Plymouth.
- RICHARD LLOYD WILLIAMS, Esq., London-road, Gloucester.
- Rev. ROWLAND WILLIAMS, M.A., Vice-Principal, St. David's College, Lampeter.
- R. N. WORNUM, Esq., 1, Bedford-pl., Hampstead-rd.
- Rev. THOMAS W. WRIGHT, F.S.A., Barly House, Bearsted, Maidstone.
- M. DIGBY WYATT, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., 77, Great Russell-street.
- THOMAS HENRY WYATT, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 77, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.
- JAMES YATES, Esq., M.A., F.R.L. & G.S., Lauderdale House, Highgate.

P R E F A C E.

IN endeavouring to establish a new Archæological Journal, it behoves us to give the reasons which have induced us to add to the number of publications already devoted to the subject of Antiquity—to state the objects for which it is intended to be set apart, and the limits to which it is to be extended.

Though we owe much to the older antiquaries, many of whom devoted their entire lives to collecting the scattered notices of antiquity, it was not till the beginning of the present century that these studies became serviceable to art, having been previously pursued without a knowledge of those principles on which true art is founded and dependent.

Of late years, however, a relish for antiquity has been combined with an improvement of taste, an effect to be attributed chiefly to the better and more extended education given to the people generally, and confined to no single land, but embracing all the countries of the civilized world. Every city of Germany has its Vaterländisches Museum; the modern Greek searches the soil to collect the proud evidences of the taste and learning of his ancestors; France establishes in every town a commission to preserve the existing remains of antiquity; Russia and the northern countries send their students to the classic soils of Rome and Athens; while America sends her many sons to finish their education in visiting the principal cities of Europe. In England, also, Antiquarian Societies have been established in several counties, new Institutions and Associations have been formed in the metropolis, vying with

each other in talent and assiduity, and meetings are held annually to collect the combined knowledge of the learned of the day.

But, though the German archæologist stands pre-eminent in all that relates to classical antiquity—though the Greek selects the remains of classic art belonging to his Pagan, rather than the semi-barbarous relics of his Christian ancestor—though France sends out commissioners to every region of the ancient civilized world: to Greece, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Egypt, Barbary, and Algiers—England, at present, devotes nearly an exclusive study to the picturesque architecture of a Gothic age.

Yet, though Gothic architecture be considered more congenial to our northern clime, though it be deemed by some more fitting and appropriate to our sacred edifices, though the poet and the philosopher love to descant on its “airy vaults” and “dim religious light,”—we conceive we should not be just even to Gothic architecture, did we not strive to induce the architect and the student to search into the history of Classic architecture, to examine its characteristics, to investigate the causes of its success, and to endeavour to discover those principles of taste, which guided the ancient artists in the construction of their edifices, and from the ignorance of, or inattention to which, the works of modern architects have so frequently been judged defective.

Notwithstanding the various publications in this and other countries, connected with the subject of Archæology, there is none in the present day devoted entirely, or even we might almost say occasionally, to architecture and the sister branches of classic art. The *Annali dell' Instituto Archeologico* of Rome, and the *Archäologische Zeitung* of Berlin, are chiefly devoted to the elucidation of the myths displayed on the vases and other monuments of Magna Grecia; while the *Classical Museum* whose name we have in part adopted, has unfortunately ceased to exist. The *Archæologia* is chiefly confined to the antiquities of this country; while the *Transactions of the Royal Society of*

Literature, though occasionally containing papers on classical antiquities, cannot, from the very title of the Society, give that especial consideration to the fine arts of antiquity that we think desirable. With the views and objects, therefore, we profess, we shall have struck out a new path. It is true, unhappily, we shall stand alone; but doing so, we cannot be charged with infringing on the rights of other journals. We do not trespass on the province of the periodicals already referred to, nor of the *Annales Archéologiques*, or the *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*, &c., of Paris, nor of the various journals in our own land connected with the subject of mediæval antiquities. The object which we propose to ourselves, is to draw attention to the invaluable vestiges of classic antiquity, whether recently or long since discovered; to elicit researches and disquisitions on the descriptions by ancient authors of those monuments which are now lost to us; and to bring together the scattered notices of classic art. We propose to make Architecture the basis of our researches, but we shall likewise turn our attention to the various branches of the sister arts, especially where they have any connexion with our main subject, ever selecting those studies which tend most to improve taste, rather than those which are matter of speculation. We shall also render it our particular object to strive to interest the *public*, by selecting such themes as will prove agreeable and profitable to the general reader; being convinced that invention, progress, and perfection in art do not originate so much from the studio of the artist, or the patronage of the great, as from the cultivated mind of the *people*.

But in addition to the interest we hope to excite in the public generally, we trust that our pages will be welcomed by the classic student, as tending to render him more familiar with those works and customs of antiquity referred to by his cherished authors; and, we trust, that in return many a scholar will be led to render us his support, by striving to enlighten and clear up the doubts and difficulties respecting monuments of

antiquity with which the descriptions of these ancient authors so frequently abound. The classical traveller, we feel assured, will not only receive the work with pleasure, but impart interest to it by his own researches; and when we consider the quantity of material unedited for want of a publisher, and the enterprising nature of the English traveller, we cannot fail to expect the most ample contributions from such sources. To the classic architect our pages will naturally be more especially directed, but we trust that even the Gothic architect will not refuse us his support, considering that as the classical languages of Greece and Rome continue to form the basis of our education to the present day, so whoever would be perfect, even in Gothic architecture, must first lay the foundation of his taste in the study of classic art.

But before we can desire to see that ancient Attic law revived, which inflicted a severe penalty on those architects who displayed not sufficient taste in the works intrusted to them, we must hope to see the principles of taste diffused among and appreciated by the public generally; being fully persuaded, with the author of *L'influence des Arts et des Sciences sur la Tranquillité Publique*, that "education, instruction, and a knowledge of the Fine Arts are as truly and essentially relative to the happiness and public tranquillity of a state, as ignorance and barbarism, such as that of the Dark Ages, were and would be prejudicial."

"Le belle arti ben intese, ben regolate, e ben dirette, hanno una grande influenza al bene del popolo, dipendendo tutto dallo stesso unico principio, dalla ragione ben coltivata; ella fa il buon governo, illumina colle buone scienze, istruisce e diletta colle belle arti, e fa la felicità pubblica e privata."—MILIZIA.

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

I.

ON THE ADVANTAGE OF THE STUDY OF ANTIQUITY,
AND ON EXCELLENCE IN ART.

Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.

THE study of futurity is speculative; the present is wrapped up in that which is to come; and it is the past only which is complete. We are now in a state of progression, the future is shrouded in uncertainty, and we gain knowledge and experience only from the past. The study of antiquity must therefore be as useful to ourselves, as it is beneficial and instructive to our fellow-creatures. Every additional circumstance that we rescue from oblivion, becomes a fresh element of knowledge, and a lever, by which we may set in motion a vast fabric of creative wonder.

As antiquity embraces all knowledge, so investigations into it must be distinct and various. Each antiquary labours for his own particular object, and each severally assists the other. The historian, the poet, the physician, the lawyer, and the divine, are all antiquaries, equally with the epigraphist, the numismatist, and others, whom we are more accustomed to call by this name; and each has his several field of labour marked out for his research. In proposing, therefore, the investigation of classical antiquity, it is necessary to define that we intend restricting ourselves to classic art. Other branches of antiquity may be more noble, or more instructive, but none can be more pleasing or delightful. It is well said that the arts and sciences unite together, and combine for the

good of humanity, and that nothing gives so much lustre to a nation as their perfection. Of all the arts the fine arts afford the highest criterion of civilization; for no other art or science combines so many essential requisites. Of these, Architecture holds the first rank, and has been called the metaphysics of the fine arts. The other arts are produced by imitation of sensible objects, combined with abstract study of composition, but this is derived solely from reason and the imagination. No art is, therefore, so difficult to practise, depending so little upon imitation, and requiring—in order to succeed—so great an amount of genius and invention. Martial's well known satire* must consequently be considered, not as a satire upon the profession, but as a personal burlesque on some witless mortal who had presumptuously thrust himself into it. For, as the celebrated Mareschal de Saxe said of tactics,—“It is a mechanical art to the ignorant, but a science and liberal art to wise and skilful persons.” Considering, then, the materials with which this art is practised, the prominent and conspicuous objects which it rears, the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of effecting alterations, and the constantly increasing repugnance with which edifices are regarded that are once found defective, it becomes of the highest consequence to consider attentively the character of the architect we employ, and to study carefully the works we propose to execute. It would be well if, instead of adopting and carrying out the first crude ideas that suggest themselves to the architect's mind, and which are often waited for impatiently by his employers, we applied to public buildings, what Horace recommended to authors:—“If at any time you write anything, submit it to the judgment of your friends, and hesitate not in keeping it in reserve nine whole years; for so long as it is in your possession, you can alter or amend it, but when once it is

* *Epig.*, v. 56. Or it may be considered as a satire upon the degeneracy into which the art had fallen in his time. See p. 15.

gone forth, you are no longer master even of your own words."

One of the great advantages which the study of the fine arts affords, is the softening and elevating our minds: for how is it possible that he whose constant attention is occupied in studying the beautiful in art, can be animated by other than virtuous and beneficent principles! How pure and innocent, how admirable and exquisite is the delight which he experiences, who creates any object of surpassing beauty in the fine arts! He who studies constantly the beautiful and grand, "mounting from nature up to nature's God," cannot be a bad man; and if this effect be produced on the professor, the more general cultivation of the fine arts must instil principles of quietness and contentment in a nation: for as Plotinus observes—"Only the beautiful (in mind) can judge of beauty;" so whoever applies himself to the study and imitation of whatever is beautiful in nature or in art, must gradually invest his mind with these perceptions.

In order to render ourselves perfect in the practice of any art, we should investigate the causes of success in those who have preceded us. Now the Greek must be acknowledged pre-eminent in all that relates to the arts of design; and we shall do well to endeavour to ascertain the peculiar circumstances which led to their transcendent superiority.

The Greeks fully felt the interest and utility derived from the study of antiquity. The works of their philosophers, poets, and historians, are full of recollections of the past, and of evidence of the veneration in which everything that was old was held by them. Homer, Herodotus, Aristotle, Xenophon, and Demosthenes, continually refer to some ancient custom or event, and always revert to the past with a sacred reverence. The Greek philosophers travelled into Egypt to study the ancient traditions, as well as the philosophy of that country. The study of antiquity should be cultivated, therefore, by every educated person; but more especially should we study those

writings of the ancients, in which we find so many records of antiquity treasured up:

Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna:

for it will be found on examination, that every nation remarkable for virtue or greatness held their ancestors in peculiar veneration. Among the eulogia heaped on Augustus by Horace, the poet did not forget to add:—

Et veteres revocavit artes.

The study of antiquity has been objected to as idle and unprofitable. The customs of the ancients, say such persons, are changed, we have advanced greatly in civilization, and have need to find out something which is new and progressive, rather than to look back to that which is past: instead of seeking to revive antiquated tastes, we should discover what is congenial to our present habits. But—

Homine imperito nunquam quidquam injustius,
Qui, nisi quod ipse facit, nihil rectum putat.*

Nobody, says Figrelus,† blames the study of antiquity, without evidencing his ignorance, as they that esteem it do credit to their own judgment: so that, to sum up its advantages, we may assert,—there is nothing useful in literature, if the knowledge of antiquity be judged unprofitable.

Much has been written relative to the causes of success in the arts, and it has been attributed variously to the serenity of climate, to the natural beauty of the inhabitants, to their cultivated minds, to the freedom of a Republican government, to the patronage of an enlightened monarch, and to the continuance of peace.

Delicacy, beauty, and science in architecture necessarily depend, in great measure, on the cultivated mind of the inhabitants of a country; but magnificence, grandeur, enterprise,

* TEREN., *Adelph.*, i. 2.

† *De Statuis illustr. Romanorum*, 8vo, Holm. 1656.

and frequently also the former qualities, are to be attributed more to the patriotism and enthusiasm of a people than to the causes already stated.

The climate of Greece is as serene now, and the inhabitants as beautiful, as they were in the age of Phidias; but the Grecian temple has passed away, and been replaced by the Byzantine church, the Turkish mosque, and the English Gothic chapel; and the chaste *Basilicon* has been succeeded by the German palace. The opposite claims advocated for republican and monarchical governments, would show that no exclusive weight can be attached to either. We have seen what was effected in the middle ages by the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and what by the monarchy of Rome: in the present day we perceive how much may be done by a single individual, as at Munich and Berlin; and at some future day we may be able to compare with these works what may be done by some existing or rising republic; but we cannot conceive that either state is essential to the progress or perfection of art. Again, the existence of peace is necessary for the carrying out and completion of any great work, but it is not the mere duration of peace which will necessarily prompt to any noble undertaking. On the contrary, we may perceive from history that it more generally induces a voluptuous and selfish feeling in the community.

We must look, therefore, to other causes for the superior excellence of Greek art; and these we think we may perceive in the simplicity of their living, their polished learning, their sacred institutions and love of country; in short, to their *enthusiasm*.

In a country where the house of the highest general scarcely differed from that of the lowest peasant—whilst the public buildings were designed and finished with all the care and ornament that the most celebrated artists could bestow, the minds of the latter must have been impressed with expectations of glory and renown, when called on to assist in honouring the

sacred shrines and other public monuments of their country, rendered celebrated by the deeds of their ancestors, or the divine songs of their poets. Their art was never called into operation to administer to the vanity of individuals, but they felt that their talents were consecrated to the temples and public edifices of their country. These engrossed their highest care, these obtained their noblest aspirations, and happy did those artists esteem themselves who were deemed worthy to receive the honorary tripod or patera, or even the leafy coronet, in testimony of their country's approbation. Hence the artists were honoured, and hence an additional motive exciting them to increased zeal and emulation. No sordid hopes of accumulating gain prompted the unqualified artizan to enter a profession in which glory was the principal inducement held out and coveted; and hence the practitioners in the art were certain of respect. After withstanding and overthrowing the countless hordes of Persia, after the many prodigies of valour they had displayed, the Greeks rightly considered themselves the most exalted of human nations. Conquest followed upon conquest, colony succeeded colony, vying in importance with the mother country, till their empire became the greatest upon earth; nor were they content with possessing merely a great empire, they claimed not only to be the greatest, but the wisest of mankind. So highly did they prize themselves in this, that they called all other nations, in contrast with themselves, *Barbarians*.

The love and esteem felt by the Greeks for the fine arts are frequently alluded to by ancient authors. Plato is said to have frequented the schools of artists, as well as those of philosophers, in order that he might obtain correct ideas of beauty. Aristotle, in the third chapter of the eighth book of his *Politics*, says that "all were taught literature, gymnastics, and music; and many also the art of design, as being useful, and abundantly available for the purposes of life." He recommends it also, not only as requisite for a just appreciation of the respective beauties of the works of artists, but mainly because, by familiarizing us with

the nature of forms, it carries us to the contemplation of real beauty.* A remarkable instance of this appreciation of the fine arts is afforded by the following custom in Greece, which some have supposed to have been introduced by Alexander:—"The art of painting was so appreciated at Sicyon, and afterwards in all Greece, that freeborn youths were taught by masters, at an early age, the art of painting as the chief of the liberal arts: and by a perpetual injunction, to which riches were not allowed to plead exemption, he who was ignorant or inexperienced in this art was held as unlearned, and the lowest of mankind."† Among the various accusations alleged by Cicero against Verres, was the cruelty of robbing Greece of those objects which were so especially dear to them, and which he coveted from vain and sordid motives. "The Greeks enthusiastically admire statues, paintings, and all works of art. . . . There is no calamity which the Greeks are so little able to endure as the pillage of their temples and cities;" and he urged that the Romans had constantly refrained from robbing them of those things, to them of so little value, but which the Greeks prized so highly; and that they were also induced to this act by the persuasion that they thereby gave additional glory to the Roman provinces. This love for and appreciation of Grecian art continued till the latest period of Grecian history, and we find that even so low down as the reigns of the Emperors Julian and Theodosius, Greek artists continued to repair to their mother country to copy the two great masterpieces of Phidias—his Jupiter at Elis, and his Minerva at Athens. And it is pleasing to see that Horace enters into all the spirit of Greek art, when he declares to his friend Censorinus that he would give him all the riches of the world, provided he had but the masterpieces of Parrhasius and Scorpas. Cicero also enters into the same feelings, when he desired to collect together the works of Grecian artists;

* See *Second Letter to the Earl of Elgin*, by W. R. HAMILTON, Esq.

† ALEX. ab ALEX., *Genial. Dier.*, ii. 25; PLIN., *II. N.*, xxxv. 10.

declaring—"Genus hoc est voluptatis meæ:" and tells his friend Atticus that if he had but his library, he should exceed Crassus in riches, and would despise all the villas and territories that might be offered to him.

Beauty in art, among the Greeks, was the result of a long-continued acquaintance with the laws of beauty as developed in all they saw around them, and particularly in their inner self. To the Greeks, not only did all nature teem with beauty, but they endeavoured to incorporate it with their social and political institutions. They regarded beauty as only another name for excellence and goodness. Thus, in their art of war, we behold their greatness of soul, their daring courage, their dauntless heroism, their consummate prudence, their magnanimous clemency when victorious, their moral fortitude when defeated. In marching to victory, the songs of their poets excited them to emulate the achievements of their ancestors; their victory was celebrated with glorious *Io Pæans*, and triumphal honours awaited their return. In life they were greeted with the praises of their countrymen: divine honours followed their decease. So in like manner, in their other actions: the several games of the theatre, the Odeon and the Stadium, their religious festivals, their sacred myths,—all were impregnated with the ideality of beauty. Architecture and the other fine arts were constantly pervaded by this feeling. We find beauty to be equally expressed, whether we regard the gorgeous sanctuary of their religious worship, or the meanest implement of ordinary use; the sculptured deity of Beauty herself, or the heart-rending anguish of Laocoon and his children. It was not sufficient that their architecture should be esteemed elegant and grand, it was requisite that it should be conformable to reason, and in harmony with their own feelings and surrounding objects. It was thus that their works became a reflection of the ideality of beauty which pervaded them—beautiful because perfect; and to which nothing appeared objectionable, and nothing wanting.

But, as we affirm, the progress and perfection of Greek art

have as much connexion with the enthusiasm of the national character, as with their simple love and appreciation of the beautiful. Plutarch, in speaking of the Lacedemonians (and we may say the same of the Greeks in general), says, "Each man considered that he was born, not for himself, but for his country." And again, "They were possessed with a thirst for honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had no wish but for their country."

Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis.

So convinced were the Greeks of the policy of rearing monuments of national grandeur, that they devoted frequently one-tenth of the spoils taken in war to the object of their public works: thus at the same time embellishing their towns, raising up a monument to their prowess, and exciting their posterity to perpetuate their glory. Such was the enthusiasm of the Greeks with regard to art, that we find whole cities priding themselves on the possession of some masterpiece, and refusing to part with it even at the tempting offer of exemption from tribute, or remission of debt. This was no vulgar appreciation of such works for their supposed rarity and marketable value, as is often the case in modern galleries; this was no vain and fancied excellence by which they endeavoured to procure fame to themselves; but it was the love and estimation of such works, produced by education and study. They were prized not only by the cities which possessed them, but strangers from every part, and the inhabitants of rival cities flocked to behold and to admire. There are many such instances noted by Cicero in his accusation of Verres, but there are so many collected together in the following passage, that we must present it entire:—"What remuneration, do you imagine, could compensate the Rhegians, now Roman citizens, for the loss of their marble Venus? What the Tarentines, if they were to lose their Europa on a Bull, their Satyr, and other works deposited in their Temple of Vesta? What the Thespians, for their statue of Cupid—for which alone strangers crowd to Thespiæ? What

the Cnicians, for their marble Venus? What the Coans, for their statue of that goddess? What the Ephesians, for their picture of Alexander? What the inhabitants of Cyzicus, for their Ajax or Medea? What the Rhodians, for their Ialysus? What the Athenians, for their marble Bacchus, their picture of Paralus, or their bronze heifer by Myron?" He then continues, "It would be tedious and superfluous to dwell upon all the rarities which attract strangers throughout Asia and Greece."

What emulation and enthusiasm must this appreciation and jealousy of their works have awakened in the artists' minds! With what feelings of noble ambition must they have desired to associate their name with that of their country! and therefore with what energy and devotedness must they have applied themselves to the study of their art.

As appreciation of their works by the people must have called forth a corresponding application on the part of the artists of antiquity, so it is the want of this knowledge of art in the public that has produced such coldness, and carelessness, and inattention, in the works of posterior ages. It is not, therefore, sufficient that we possess fine works of art in our museums, and perhaps remember them by name, or even recollect their general character; it is not sufficient that our artists are told to admire them and to copy them; but we must examine them carefully, and study them, endeavouring to discover in what their peculiar excellency consists, by what train of study the artist arrived at such perfection, and how we may equal such works without recourse to servile imitation. Thus, notwithstanding the treasures of art which Byzantium and Rome contained, we see how, through neglect of study and want of appreciation by the people, art degenerated to so low an ebb; while by enthusiasm and love of art it was raised among the Greeks to so high a standard. It was this love of praise that caused the Greeks to attain such distinguished excellence.

*Graiiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, præter laudem nullius avaris.*

Peace, it has been supposed, has much to do with the progress

of the arts, and it has been attempted to show the connexion between Pliny's various Periods of art, and the successive durations of peace. It is impossible to deny that peace is necessary to the practice of the arts, but we contend that it is not so necessary to their cultivation. The element, as we have endeavoured to show, that has most operated in their advancement, is enthusiasm. The Greeks had peace before the Persian invasion, and many celebrated works were produced prior to that event; but it was not till their country was consumed, and all its sacred edifices destroyed, that Greece displayed the power of its genius, and raised those monuments which still, in their ruin, testify to the surpassing excellence of Greek refinement. It was subsequent to the first victory over the Persians, and in consequence of the excitement, the surprise, the joy, and glory of such a conquest, that Greece put forth all her energies; and it is remarkable that this period of perfection terminated shortly after the final defeat of the Persians: so inseparably does enthusiasm appear to be connected with the highest culture of art.

In attributing so much of success in art to enthusiasm, we must be understood as referring to a nation generally, though it is quite possible that great genius may be elicited by the personal enthusiasm of the artist, and which, if properly favoured, may enable him to attain considerable excellence; but before he can find scope for his ability—before he can have opportunity of putting it in practice, he must hope to see an entire nation partaking of his own exalted sentiments, and it is not till after a long prevalence of such general cultivation that perfection can be attained.

The various eras of art—as the age of Pericles, of Alexander, of Augustus, of Leo X., of the Medici—are generally regarded as having been caused by the establishment of peace, and by the patronage of art: but as we have seen with regard to the age of Pericles, so we shall find the other periods equally distinguished for victory, glory, or continued prosperity. It is needless to refer to the ages of Alexander and Augustus in proof

of this: and the ages of Leo X. and the Medici, though not so distinguished in military exploits, are as remarkable for splendour, and the establishment of power and prosperity. But one important subject relative to this circumstance, which must not be overlooked, is, that not only the fine arts flourished during these periods, but the arts and sciences generally—and, indeed, all learning: so intimately is the success of one connected with that of the rest. The age of Pericles produced not only Phidias and Parrhasius, but Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes; Anaxagoras, Plato, Socrates, and Aristides; Herodotus and Thucydides; besides a host of illustrious generals: that of Alexander produced Aristotle, Æschines, and Demosthenes; as well as Apelles, Scopas, and Praxiteles; Democritus and Lysippus: while that of Augustus not only produced Vitruvius, but Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Tibullus; Livy, Varro, and Cicero.

So the other periods referred to were equally distinguished by great men, and thus we see that success in art does not depend on its professors alone, but on the enlightened minds of their contemporaries.

Let the arts, then, be studied, if not practised, together; let poetry, music, and the dance, be joined to them; and the more frequently one is called upon to assist the others, the greater will be the benefits which itself receives. It was thus that the masters of the Revival became so celebrated. They practised conjointly the three arts, as occasion required; and so far from failing in that particular art in which they were brought up, they succeeded in all.

Let us endeavour to discover the beauties of these several sciences; let us strive to ascertain and investigate the causes of the sublime and beautiful in all we see around us, and engraft this on our favourite pursuit. Let us acknowledge the services we are under to the poets for their striking pictures of art. Let us consider the connexion which the ancients felt to exist between music and art, and believe that the story of Amphion

raising the walls of Thebes by the sound of his lyre is not altogether fabulous.

One of the earliest instances we find in the middle ages of a regard for antiquity is afforded by Alphonso, king of Aragon, at the commencement of the twelfth century. This illustrious monarch experienced an extreme delight in the study of ancient monuments, declaring that he felt himself inflamed by them to glory and virtuous actions. On one occasion, while besieging Gaeta, and having no more stone for the catapult, he preferred raising the siege to pulling down an old tower, which was believed to have formed part of one of Cicero's villas.*

It was not till rather more than a century after this that we find art to have received its first impression from the study of antiquity. Among the ancient sculptures contained in the city of Pisa was a bas-relief representing Meleager. This had been lying there for ages—unnoticed, unheeded—till it accidentally caught the eye of Nicola Pisano, who was so struck by its truth and beauty, that it became the basis of his studies, and the germ of true taste in Italy.

The study of antiquity was greatly promoted by Dante, in the same century, and by Petrarch. The latter was the first to collect medals, as a means of studying art and history—the first to direct attention to the stupendous monuments of Roman grandeur; and, with the exception of Alphonso, the first who was animated by them to deeds of greatness and sentiments of glory, and consequently to increased benevolence to his fellow creatures, and to a higher standard of moral virtue. In the *Memoir of his Life*, written by himself, he says: “Among other studies, I applied myself to the knowledge of antiquity, for this age in which I live was never congenial to me; so that had not the love of those most dear to me excited in me a contrary desire, I should always have preferred living in any other

* A similar story is told of Demetrius and the painter, Protogenes. Vide PLUT. in *Dem.*

generation. But, as it is, I strive continually to forget the age in which I live, and to realize to myself that which is gone by."

The friend of Petrarch, Cola di Rienzo, was animated with similar enthusiasm. He collected together the various inscriptions contained in ancient Rome; he explained the several bas-reliefs which he brought to light, and descanted upon the magnificence and grandeur of ancient Rome, in thoughts and words commensurate with the loftiness and sublimity of the subject. These researches became the motives rather than the consequences of his policy, and he prosecuted them with the earnest desire of urging his countrymen to emulate the glory and the virtues of their ancestors.

About this time was founded the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, and shortly after, Lorenzo di Medici established schools at Florence, in which the professors were required to point out to the students the beauty and excellence of the works of the ancients, before allowing them to give themselves up to their own genius. From this school issued a band of architects, painters, and sculptors of the highest order.

Alberti was the first who introduced the true principles of Roman architecture. This enlightened man, who was so diligent a student of ancient monuments, united in himself all the learning and accomplishments of his age. He was a mathematician, philosopher, historian, rhetorician, orator, sculptor, architect, and musician, and one of the greatest men of his age. He travelled to explore all the monuments of antiquity then known, and he informs us that he shed tears on beholding the state of desolation in which many of them lay.

The immortal Raphael, whose admiration for antiquity was such, that he formed the idea of excavating the whole of Rome, and rebuilding the modern city on the foundations of the ancient, and who was also an able commentator on Vitruvius, owed great part of his fame to the use which he made of the paintings in the Thermæ of Titus and in the Septizonia, and which led so chiefly to the improvement of the art of painting.

It was likewise to a vestige of antiquity that sculpture was indebted for considerable advancement, when Michael Angelo discovered, and based upon a mere *torso*, those principles of proportion and effect which he found so beautifully developed in that fragment.

Seeing, then, the importance of the study of antiquity for the furtherance of art, we must unite with that author who says, "Do not ask, What is genius?—if you have it, you will feel it; if you have it not, you never will. But if you imagine a spark of that devouring fire animates you, fly—run to Rome, see" (the matchless monuments of Grecian art) "the Pantheon, the Forum, the principal remains of Roman greatness."

The causes which enabled the Greeks to rear such wonderful works of art have been adverted to. It has been endeavoured to show that such excellence did not depend merely upon the advantages of climate, the enjoyment of peace, or the existence of a free government; but that it was more correctly owing to their patriotism and nobleness of mind, to their polished refinement, their heroism and martial fame, the simplicity of their private life, their zeal in the furtherance of their country's fame. Here we see the causes of the vast difference between Greek and Roman art. In the former, the artist was animated by love of country, and often laboured gratuitously in monuments intended for the nation's glory; in the latter, the private individual frequently lavished on himself as much as had been expended on the public monuments of Greece. This opened a new field for mercenary employment; and in place of a few artists, honoured by their native land, there arose, in Rome only, no less than seven hundred* architects, whose study and endeavours, whether employed on private or public buildings, were too frequently how to render their works more showy and extravagant than the buildings of those who had preceded them. The Greek thought only for his country, the Roman for himself. The

* We believe the very same number that now exists in London.

Roman sought principally his individual interest and aggrandizement; the Greek carried out his public buildings with unsparing sacrifice, and forbade himself the enjoyment of unnecessary comforts. It is true there were not wanting political economists in the age of Pericles, who disapproved of the expenditure of money for the purposes of taste. When this great man, with the principles of sound policy, was occupied in rearing monuments to the eternal glory of his country,* he was accused by these of wasting the public treasure, and of reducing the revenues of the state. Fortunately for his country and for us, he had sufficient tact to avert their opposition, or the benefit to art derived from these structures would have been lost to us, from the sordid selfishness of a few individuals. The utilitarian may condemn whatever is not what he considers useful and necessary, but throughout the whole works of nature we find that the Deity has not only given us what was needful, but he has also stamped every object we behold with the highest evidence of Divine power and intellect, by imprinting on it the excellence of beauty. Let us, then, in our public edifices, consider that there are other objects to be attained than the mere destination of the building; for there is nothing which so much exhibits the genius of a people, their nobleness or meanness, their invention or dulness, their refinement or vulgarity, as architecture.† Let the architect, then, remember that he builds, or should do so, to immortalize his name; and his employers, whether public or private, that, whether for praise or censure, they build not for themselves, but for posterity.

* An able writer on Greeian history has very truly observed, "the Parthenon and Propylæa may be considered as the trophies of Marathon and Salamis." "They were, at the same time, monuments of the past, and pledges of the future."—THIRLWALL'S *History of Greece*, iii. 18.

† Thueydides has left us the following testimony of his admiration of the edifices of Athens:—"If Athens were to be made desolate, and nothing were left but the temples, and the foundations of the public edifices, the estimation which posterity would form of her power, in comparison even with her fame, would be doubled."—THUC., *Hist.*, i. 10.

II.

ON THE RAPID DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT
MONUMENTS :*

BEING A PORTION OF THE DEDICATORY EPISTLE PREFIXED BY FRA GIOVANNI
GIOCONDO† TO HIS CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM.‡

THE appearance of Rome is, at the present day, so changed from what it was, that the things we read of in ancient writers are now scarcely intelligible. Those, also, who are esteemed to be the most conversant in antiquity, are frequently found to be deceived: chiefly because the authors who have given us the description of these things are so corrupted, that they would not even know themselves, were they restored to

* From MURATORI, *Nov. Thes. Vet. Insc.*, tom. i.

† This celebrated and early architect, engineer, philologist, and divine, was born at Verona, about 1435. One of his principal works is the beautiful *Sala del Consiglio*, in his native city. His biographer, Temanza, says of him, "Rome was his great school. He studied there everything relating to antiquity. He measured and delineated the ancient edifices, and by comparing them with the precepts of Vitruvius, he initiated himself in the secrets of his art. The study of antiquity has a certain incentive, which obliges men, without perceiving it, to undertake immense fatigues, especially such men as are well informed. He was particularly interested in the study of inscriptions. Whoever enters these employments should imitate those ardent hunters who search in trace of wild beasts, even in the deep recesses of their hiding-places. Thus did Fra Giocondo: travelling through the provinces in order to form as complete a collection as possible of ancient monuments." His collection of inscriptions exceeded 2000. Besides other works, he published editions of VITRUVIUS, FRONTINUS, CATO *de Re Rustica*, The *Epitome* of AURELIUS VICTOR, The *Commentaries* of CÆSAR, and PLINY's *Epistles*.

‡ These were dedicated, in the first instance, to Lorenzo di Medici, and, on his death, the same epistle was addressed to Lodovico di Agnelli, Archbishop of Cosenza, but with the like want of success. The inscriptions remained unpublished till Maffei, Gori, and Muratori, incorporated them with their respective collections.

life again. But even though they were preserved to us entire, they would not even then be sufficient for our purpose, unless we saw with our own eyes that which they saw and have described. Nevertheless, there still remain considerable ruins in Rome which day by day become more ruined. For which cause it is difficult to affirm anything with precision of the Roman remains from inscriptions or other documents which are come down to us; especially of those which are not now remarkable for preservation. For those which to-day are in the Circus Flaminius, you will see to-morrow on the Tarpeian rock, if, indeed, you do not rather find them in some kiln, or in the foundation of some rustic cottage. Even that which by some diligent hand has been brought and fixed in a conspicuous place, you will afterwards find has been torn down by some ignorant or careless person, and trodden under horses' feet and reduced to powder.

Such a spectacle being frequently presented to my eyes, moved my poor ability to search into the various monuments of antiquity, that I might not look on indifferently to the almost total destruction of the memorials of our ancestors. To the accomplishment of which purpose, as neither means nor power sufficed me, I applied my mind to those things only, which I thought might be effected by talent, study, and perseverance, without expence or outlay, and which might excite the minds of the powerful by considerations of their beauty and excellency. Among the fruits of this research, I have collected many inscriptions, that under your auspices they may be rendered lasting, and delivered down to posterity, though the marbles and brazen tablets on which they are inscribed are broken, melted, or otherwise destroyed every hour.

Many things occur to my memory, which I myself have seen, but which I purposely forbear mentioning, lest they should recal tears to mine eyes, and afflict so diligent an observer of antiquity as yourself: I will refer, however, to what I have heard from others. Thus, besides circuses, theatres, amphi-

theatres, thermæ, arches, columns, porticoes, areas, mutatoria,* nymphaea, baths, capitols, caves, atria, chapels, shrines, cells, palaces, watch-towers of the cohorts, slaughter-houses, lakes, islands, libraries, granaries, mills, bridges, markets, aqueducts, colossal statues, naumachiæ, tombs, pyramids, obelisks, hills, fields, gardens, city-walls, gates, fish-ponds, roads, cells, and other places and edifices of this kind, of which some are so rooted up, that not only no vestiges of them are left remaining, but even their very site cannot be determined—there are others which, with the greatest grief of mind, we have seen destroyed during our present calamity.† There are some who affirm to have seen large heaps of stones formed entirely of fragments of inscriptions,—nor are there wanting others, who boast of having filled in the foundations of their houses entirely with the broken limbs of statues. Why should we not invoke curses on these violators of sacred antiquity? Let them tear, burn, or break other things—they should spare at least the inscriptions and statues which our ancestors have bequeathed to us, wrought with so much skill and dignity. For what subtilty, conciseness, and elegance may be shown in those, and what symmetry, perfection, grace, and majesty in these, when the few which have not eluded our researches excite in us so much admiration, and prove to what perfection the genius of the ancients attained. * * *

* Supposed to be Changes of Residence, according to the season.

† The Pope was then at Avignon.

III.

ON THE POLYCHROMY OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE.

I TRAVELLED in Sicily, in the years 1823 and 1824, in company with two German architects, MM. Zanth and Stier. We discovered in excavations, which I caused to be made at Agrigentum, Syracuse, Acraë, Catanea, Segesta, &c., as Messrs. Harris and Angell had formerly done at Selinuntum, many vestiges of coloured stucco on the fragments of temples and other edifices built of porous stone, and many traces of colour employed without a coating of stucco, on hard and compact stone, and also upon marble.

The great abundance of these indications of a primitive decoration by colour, the appearance of similar tints on similar members and mouldings, the presence of colour on figure-sculpture, bas-reliefs, and ornament, induced me to turn my attention to the theory which M. Quatremère de Quincy entertained relative to the employment of polychromy on stucco, and which he has so ably established in his magnificent work—*Le Jupiter Olympien*. So fully did I concur with him in his opinion, that I thenceforward entertained no doubt, not merely with regard to the application of colour to statuary, as established by M. Quatremère de Quincy; but also, as a necessary consequence, to its adaptation to architecture, as evidenced by my own rescarches.

Immediately on my return to Rome, I prepared, in conjunction with M. Zanth, restorations of those Sicilian temples, the colours of which we could identify, and we had the privilege of exhibiting the drawings to the artists and antiquaries of that capital.

The principle generally followed we found to be—the colouring of the body of the wall a pale yellow, or golden colour, the triglyphs and mutules blue, the metopes and the tympanum red, and some other portions of the building green; and varying these same tints, or using them of greater or less intensity, as the judgment of the artist dictated.

This discovery, so entirely subversive of the hitherto dominant idea of the monochromy of Greek art, met with many opponents, and but few supporters. The latter, however, increased in number after 1830, in which year I published at Paris the complete restoration of a Selinuntine temple, founded on the ancient coloured vestiges which I had been enabled to discover.

In this Essay, I showed that Polychromic architecture was practised by the Greeks in all ages, who endeavoured, by so doing, to add to the elegance of their buildings, without detracting from their majesty; and that this system of colouring, when applied under a pure sky, enlivened by a brilliant sunshine, and surrounded by a gorgeous vegetation, was the only means of bringing the work of art in harmony with the richness of nature. Another reason for its adoption would necessarily have been the preservation of their monuments. The necessity for its application I proved by a consideration of its analogy with coloured statuary, from the employment of the latter conjointly with mural historic painting in the edifices of antiquity, and from these requiring, in their union with architecture, a necessary similarity in the walls and decoration of the building. I maintained that the most admired structures of the ancients derived their effect from the harmonious combination of the three arts, the works of which, taken individually, may sometimes approach to the sublime, but cannot, unless united, produce that sentiment of satisfaction and perfection which they then possess.

From the known fact, that the earliest temples of the Greeks were of wood, and that their first idols, derived from Egypt,

were of the same material, I concluded that the desire of preserving their sanctuaries must have caused them to apply some preparation to the surface of the wood; and that this coating must have been analogous to that of the idols which they were intended to receive, in order that the temples and their images might present, after the same lapse of time, a corresponding appearance.

In support of this natural inference, I cited the passage in Vitruvius,* where that author says:—“*Ideo quod antiqui fabri quodam in loco ædificantes, cum ita ab interioribus parietibus ad extremas partes tigna prominentia habuissent collocata, intertignia struxerunt, supraque coronas et fastigia venustiore specie fabrilibus operibus ornaverunt: tum projecturas tignorum, quantum eminebant, ad lineam et perpendicularum parietum persecuerunt: quæ species cum invenusta iis visa esset, tabellas ita formatas, uti nunc fiunt triglyphi, contra tignorum præcisiones in fronte fixerunt et eas cera cærulea depinxerunt.*”

From this I deduced, that if, in accordance with this ancient custom, a coating of wax and colour was applied to those portions of the temple where wood continued to be employed, this custom must by degrees have extended to those parts, the forms of which, though executed in stone or marble, were imitated from the ancient practice of timber construction; and at length, by the sure result of religious tradition, and the requirement of a necessary connexion between the details and the whole, it must have been applied to the entire surface of the edifice.

The silence of M. Winkelmann and his followers as to the application of colour to ancient architecture, arose from the circumstance of the almost entire absence of remarks on this subject in the works of ancient authors; and I attributed this absence to the very universal employment of Polychromy by the ancients, which, presenting nothing remarkable from its

* VITR., lib. iv. cap. ii. § 17.

singularity, did not require any special notice. This conclusion I showed to be supported by the fact of traces of colour being discernible to the present day on the Parthenon, Erechtheum, Theseum, and on the temples of Ægina and Bassæ, although Pausanias does not refer to any one of these as being so decorated: and I directed attention to the fact that, in the only passage of his book which has reference to the application of colour,—that which relates to the green and red tribunals,—it is not from the singularity of their decoration that he notices them, but because they served as a name to the edifices which contained them; in the same manner that the locality and form served to designate two other tribunals, one of which took the name of *Parabyston*, and the other of *Trigonon*.*

I concluded from this passage that the red and green were the predominant colours of these two tribunals, and that this system of Polychromy must have been applied to secular as well as to religious structures: that the silence of ancient authors, so far from offering any objection to this theory, proves the certitude of its universal application: and lastly, that the material proofs of its practice, even now abundantly sufficient, would have been much more numerous, as observes M. Quatremère de Quincy, if modern critics, whenever they perceive traces of decoration, either on the monuments themselves, or historically in the descriptions of ancient authors, had not seemed to be resolved, sometimes to deny their consequence, as conflicting with their notions of the taste and genius of the ancients, sometimes to question their existence, and almost always to refuse them their due consideration.†

Without adverting to every monument of Greece and Sicily, upon which any traces of colour are to be discerned, I will cite only the principal examples which served for my restoration of the Selinuntine temple.

* PAUS., i. 28, 8.

† *Le Jupiter Olympien*, p. 29.

The pavement shown in the Pronaos and Cella of my design was imitated from the stucco floor still visible in the Posticum and Pteroma of one of the great temples of the same city; and from the decorations of this pavement in the form of paintings, I imagined that the ancient mosaics were originally of a similar treatment; the forms of which, whether representing compartments, arabesques, or animal creation, were invariably disposed in imitation of paintings, rather than consisting of rich slabs, as generally practised in the marble pavements of our modern structures.

The coloured shafts I showed to be not only in accordance with what I had observed in Sicily, but to be corroborated by an autograph letter of M. Dufourny, which states—"Mr. Dodwell told me he had seen many temples in Greece, the columns of which were covered with stucco, as were those of Girgenti and Selinuntum, in Sicily. Sometimes the stucco, as at Selinuntum, was grey, red, or of a blue colour; but stucco is found only on stone columns." Although this fact, observed towards the close of the last century, has been unnoticed in all modern works on Sicily, we should not refuse to receive it on this account, or consider as objections the silence of modern travellers.

Slight indications of colour, preserved on various fragments, formed my authority for the restoration of the Ionic capital; and for the caps of the antæ I referred to the colour found on an anta at Selinuntum, and on those of the temples of Jupiter at Ægina, and of Nemesis at Rhamnus.

The coloured mouldings of the entablature were restored from portions of the entablature of this very temple, and from other fragments scattered among the ruins. I could find but slight traces of colour on the metopes and architraves, indicative of the existence of painted ornament, but I was enabled to recognise these features in various terra cottas found in the island, the forms of which, copied from Doric temples, represented ornaments originally painted on the metopes and archi-

traves of real monuments. The extent to which the ancients, even in the smallest utensils of ordinary use, imitated the forms and ornaments of their edifices, is very remarkable; and how the fictile vases frequently offer the image of the crowning cornices of temples, or copies of celebrated paintings: thus giving to the rudest works of the potter a reflection of the most celebrated works of architecture and painting. The undoubted identity between the terra cottas and the remains of Greek and Roman monuments has greatly corroborated the result of my inductions, derived from other sources, of a common origin and a common type between Greece and her colonies.

Ægina, Metapontum, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and several other cities, furnished suggestions for the restoration of the roof, and the ornaments of the tympanum and portico.

In justification of the rich decoration by colour given to a Doric temple, I showed how, in the almost universal employment of this order, colour offered the surest means of varying the richness and appearance of the sanctuaries, and of attaining very sensible modifications, according to the character of the divinities. In all Greece, in Sicily, and Magna Græcia, the most important edifices were Doric; and the painted ornaments, when more or less predominant, would necessarily give more or less apparent magnificence, or suitableness to particular divinities. The same result took place in the almost general use by the Romans of the Corinthian order, the character of which they varied by a difference in the profiles, and by the number of mouldings and sculptured ornaments. This feeling is evident from an examination of the simplicity of the orders of the Pantheon, of the Temple of Antonine and Faustina, and of the Arch of Constantine, compared with the richness of the Temples of Jupiter Tonans, the Forum of Nerva, and some others.

The Greeks, however, did not in all instances employ the orders of architecture according to the difference of their

character and richness; for we find Ionic columns decorating the exterior of the Temple of Minerva Alea at Tegea, and Doric columns supporting Corinthian in the Cella. The employment of the Ionic column with a Doric entablature is another example of inattention to any very strict classification of the Orders. I see in these instances a proof of a particular epoch in the history of architecture, and that the Temple of Empedocles is by no means an insulated example in this respect.

In showing how perfectly a Greek temple, restored in all its colours, bore resemblance to the coloured decorations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, how fully the architectural remains of these cities of Greek origin, as compared with the existing remains of Greece and Sicily, bear the palpable proofs of as great analogy—so that the employment of each of these styles is perfectly admissible in the same edifice, without giving rise to the least inconsistency—we perceive unanswerable evidence in support of the permanence of forms and principles of architecture among the ancients, and a certain proof that this similitude on the exterior existed also in the interior.

In seeking, with care and discrimination, to figure to ourselves as near as possible, the type of the monuments of the mother country, Herculaneum and Pompeii must offer us invaluable materials. Although I have selected authorities for the restoration of the Temple of Empedocles derived almost exclusively from Sicily and Greece, I have had recourse to the precious remains of these cities, in order to demonstrate more clearly, and to render more perfect, the connexion of these inductions. Thus the compartments of painted stucco imitating slabs of marble, introduced both in the exterior and interior of the temple, in the form of a dado round the walls, we see to be also so frequently employed in Pompeii, as to prove clearly that it is a tradition of a system of construction which we find to have been generally practised in the Greek temples, and which is likewise common to most Roman temples.

I restored the roof of the Cella in the form of a double

truss and open framework, having established the use of this mode of construction by the discovery of ancient tiles, painted on both surfaces, so as to be visible from below as well as from above; which idea receives further support from roofs of this nature being represented in Greek and Etruscan tombs cut in the rock, from Vitruvius's description of the Basilica at Fano, and other similar edifices, from its existence in most of the constructions of Pompeii, whether real or depicted, and, lastly, by the continuance of this system of covering in the primitive Christian basilicas of Italy and Sicily.

The ornamentation of the timber-work of the roof is based on the traces of colour still visible in the marble beams of monuments in Athens and other parts of Greece, as also on the beautifully executed and highly-coloured casings of the timber-work which have been found in some places—as in terra cotta at Metapontum, and in some other instances of more precious material—and lastly I referred, in support of this portion of the decoration, as I have had occasion to do for many others, to the Sicilian churches of the eleventh century.

Before resolving on the style of painting most in accordance with the dimensions and character of the temple, I examined with great attention the application of historic painting to the embellishment of the walls in the edifices of Greece, and particularly in her temples. I perceived that the use of this species of decoration had been general in Greece, as will be evident on considering the porticoes of Athens, Olympia, and Delphi, where Polygnotus, Euphranor, and Micon, in depicting the exploits of the heroes of their country, excited their compatriots to imitate their warlike virtues; the Curia, in which Protogenes and Olbiades painted the images of legislators; the theatres and Odeia, decorated with the portraits of poets and the representation of the Graces, their inseparable companions; the Gymnasia, offering to the regard of the spectators the god-like conquerors in the contests of Mars and of the Muses; the Propylæa, more famous for the precious

works of the painter than for the marbles with which they were covered; the palaces, houses, and tombs,—in which latter, historical painting on the wall formed the principal ornament; and lastly the temples, as in Athens alone, those of Theseus, Erechtheus, Bacchus, Esculapius, and the Dioscuri,—the paintings of which were all significative, and in accordance with the places and divinities. We must not, however, confound this characteristic system, common to all the epochs of art in Greece, and which dates back to Egypt, with the no less ancient and general custom of suspending wooden tablets in the sacred edifices to serve as offerings. The most ancient examples of painting on the wall were executed in Italy, as in the Temple of Juno at Ardea; in that of Cære, of a more remote antiquity; and in that of Lanuvium, where Caligula endeavoured in vain to detach them from the wall, and take them from the ruined temple which they had decorated. Painting in mosaic, whether in the manner of the ancient basilicas, or of the works of the *Renaissance*, must necessarily have been a tradition of this usage.

As to the subject and composition of their paintings, it must be observed that in vase painting, and other decorations of the Greeks, the subjects were often copies of celebrated works, and therefore necessarily gave a most exact idea of their character and effect. On examining the different kinds of these compositions—those in which the figures are ranged in isometrical perspective, and those in which they are placed in one line—I selected the latter form of arrangement, on account of the restricted dimensions of the edifice.

The sepulchres of the ancients being an imitation of their temples, I examined the tombs of Corneto, with the view of ascertaining whether any peculiar arrangement existed in the disposition of their paintings; and in accordance with the information thus obtained, without pretending that this disposition was universally observed, I left a space above each painting for the exhibition of the votive offerings, an arrange-

ment which may be warranted by the descriptions of Pausanias. The buckler of Pyrrhus was placed above the doorway of the Temple of Ceres in Argos, and moveable portraits were suspended above the mural paintings of Polygnotus in the building contiguous to the Propylæa. The offerings so frequently represented on the upper part of vases, the scene of which exhibits the interior of a temple, are no less conclusive proofs in favour of the position which I have assigned them.

Wishing the paintings of the interior to be as much in harmony as possible with the period when the temple was erected, I turned my attention to the state of the arts at the time of its foundation. The most ancient temples of Selinuntum belong to an epoch approaching that of the foundation of the city, which was between the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth Olympiad; the next in age date back to the seventieth Olympiad; and the latest, among which is the Temple of Empedocles, were executed in the most brilliant period of Grecian art.*

It was, therefore, towards the ninetieth Olympiad, when Panænus, Polygnotus, Micon, and many other celebrated painters flourished, that we must suppose these paintings to have been executed. From the vases which have been attributed to this epoch, I have accordingly borrowed the character of the compositions which I imagined to be most in accordance with the destination of the building.

The smallness of the temple caused me to consider it as having been destined to honour the remains of some deified mortal, in accordance with the religious motives of the Greeks, which caused many such temples to be erected to the memory of their heroes. This supposition being confirmed by the fact, as adduced by Diogenes Laertius, that the Selinuntines offered divine honours to Empedocles for having saved them from the plague, I have imagined that this temple might have been con-

* These epoehs may be said to correspond severally to the years 630, 500, and 440 before the Christian era.

secrated to this liberator of the city. Many authors concur that Empedocles was honoured with an apotheosis in the ninety-third Olympiad: but should there be no incontestable proof of this hypothesis, there is nothing opposed to it, and the presumption is justified by the name of the hero, the certainty of his worship, the identity of the time, and the probability of the event.

The statue of Empedocles was possibly of gold and ivory, and glittering with all the brilliancy of polychromic sculpture. This effect of splendour and colouring is quite in character with the particulars handed down to us of this favourite of the gods; who never quitted his purple mantle, or laid aside his Pythian crown: and the statue thus restored would be quite in keeping with the system of coloured architecture established so successfully by M. Quatremère de Quincy, and since confirmed by so many new and important discoveries.

The exterior is ornamented with coloured bas-reliefs, which are evidently far preferable to paintings, inasmuch as the latter, representing but one particular effect of light and shade selected by the painter, can never offer the same powerful effect as polychromic sculpture; which, being always lighted in the same direction as the monument itself, presents continuously an effect in direct accordance and harmony with the structure.

I have supposed the doors of the temple to be of bronze: and the description of the gold and ivory doors of the Temple of Minerva at Syracuse proves to what extent this species of decoration was carried by the ancients.

I place the altar in the interior of the temple, from recollection of a passage in Cicero, where he states that two altars were placed in an *ædiculum* at Messina. The great number of fragments preserved, and the limited dimensions of the temple, caused me to adopt this example, as presenting less difficulties and rendering its publication more practicable. The object of my researches has not been the precise model of an ancient sanctuary, but the restoration of a monument which gives the

most easy and complete idea of the application of polychromic architecture.

After the publication of this memoir, and the exhibition of the designs which accompanied it, the learned archæologist, M. Raoul Rochette, who, in the first instance, had accepted my discoveries in polychromic architecture, and acknowledged his belief in their accuracy from consideration of his own experience derived in Sicily, eventually proceeded to impugn my assertions relative to the employment of mural painting. He maintained, in common with the late M. Boettiger, that the Greeks had never, in the best epochs of art, executed their principal works on other material than on tables of wood, to be let into or fixed to the walls. He concluded by rejecting my assertion of the general practice of coloured architecture, confining it to the secondary means of mere embellishment.* This opinion of the learned critic was in turn attacked by another eminent archæologist, M. Letronne, (lately deceased,) in a series of letters which he did me the honour of addressing to me, and in which he entirely concurred in the system I had laid down,—the execution of historical and mythological painting on the wall in all periods of Greek art, and the discontinuance of this style towards the decline of the Empire.†

Subsequent to these publications appeared, among others, a pamphlet by M. G. Semper.‡ This architect, on returning from his travels in Italy, Sicily, and Greece, not only confirmed the existence of Polychromy in all monuments, whether Greek or Roman, but he gives to its application the greatest possible extension. This writer was followed by the German savant, M. F. Kugler,§ who endeavoured to establish, by aid of remains

* See several papers in the *Journal des Savans*; also, *Peintures Antiques inédites*, and *Lettres Archéologiques*, by M. RAOUL ROCHETTE.

† *Lettres d'un Antiquaire à un Artiste*, and *Supplement*, by M. LETRONNE.

‡ *Bemerkungen über bemalte Architectur und Plastik*, by G. SEMPER.

§ *Ueber die Polychromie der Griechischen Architectur und Sculptur und ihre Grenzen*, by Dr. FRANZ KUGLER.

of antiquity, and by quotations from ancient authors, that colour probably existed in the temples of Sicily, and in the most ancient structures in Greece built of stone; but that its employment in Athenian edifices constructed by Pericles, and particularly the Parthenon, was confined to the application of blue colour to the metopes, the mutules, and the tympanum; of red to some fillets, and the painted ornaments of some mouldings; and of gold to some of the accessories, as the shields and the inscriptions on the frieze, the lions' heads, and the sculpture surmounting the acroteria: but as for those parts which form the principal and predominant features, as the columns, architrave, triglyphs, and corona, M. Kugler considered that they always presented the natural colour of the marble, as they do at present. With regard to the sculpture, he admits that the hair and drapery were painted, but believes that the plain and naked parts were totally unrelieved by colour. The last writer on the subject was the late M. Hermann.* In this work the learned philologist examined particularly those passages in ancient authors which bear reference to historical paintings. From this examination it results, that if doubt may arise relative to several expressions employed to designate paintings executed on the wall, it is certain that where Pausanias speaks of paintings as partly or entirely effaced, they were unquestionably wall paintings.

While these and several other kindred publications appeared, I collected from time to time fresh documents confirming my first discoveries, and the deductions I had drawn from them. The existence can now be proved of, we may say, the same colours on the monuments of Athens, as those which I had discovered on the Sicilian temples, and as I had suggested that they had been doubtlessly applied to the monuments throughout all Grecian countries, and especially in those parts where

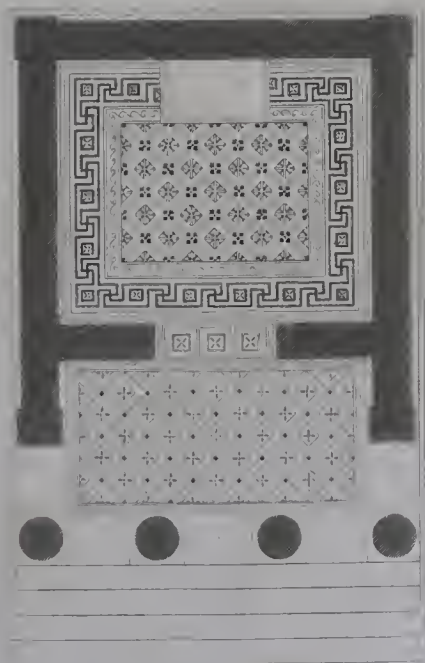
* *De Veterum Græcorum Pictura Parietum Conjectura*, &c., GODEFREDO HERMANNO.

Hellenic principles had been implanted, and had been preserved in their primitive beauty. Once, indeed, that the attention of artists and archæologists was awakened, and their researches especially directed to so remarkable a peculiarity of ancient art, and one hitherto so unnoticed, instances of the adaptation of polychromy multiplied constantly. The excavations in the Acropolis of Athens, executed under the direction of learned men and distinguished architects, nominated to this effect by the King of Greece; the researches prosecuted by the English, German, Russian, and other artists, particularly the travelling students of the French Academy in Rome; and the excavations executed in Sicily by order of the King of Naples—all these circumstances combined to furnish me with a variety of details as new as unexpected, and therefore, in republishing the *Restoration of the Temple of Empedocles*, and a *Dissertation on the Polychromy of Greek Architecture in general*, I venture to trust that I shall have answered satisfactorily the various objections which have been raised against my ideas: but at least I can satisfy myself with the consideration, that artists and archæologists will find materials in this collection of facts, reasonings, and deductions, which will enable them to form a complete idea of the question, and to resolve it according to their conviction; and thus by further discussions and researches, suggested by the importance of the subject, enrich it constantly with new lights and fresh discoveries.

J. J. HITTORFF.

M. Hittorff has been engaged in the study of polychromy for a quarter of a century. The work which he is now about to publish, consists of the restoration of the small Temple or Hieron of Empedocles; next, a series of the most remarkable coloured architectural ornaments discovered up to the present time; then a collection of examples taken from terra-cotta vases, the paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and the tombs of

Etruria, capable of throwing light upon the subject of polychromy as applied to architecture and sculpture, and to the employment by the Greeks of historical and sacred wall-painting. This collection of drawings amounts to upwards of three hundred figures, engraved in twenty-five plates. As in these chromo-lithographic plates, he presents to us all the known fragments of polychromic decoration, so in the letter-press he collects together all remarks pertaining to the subject, whether in ancient or modern writers, which can enable us to look at and judge of the question in all its bearings. To this end, it is accompanied by an analysis of the most important publications in favour of or against his opinion, by a detailed description of the restoration of the Temple of Empedocles, and by researches on the technicality of ancient painting, and on the application of polychromy to the productions of modern art.

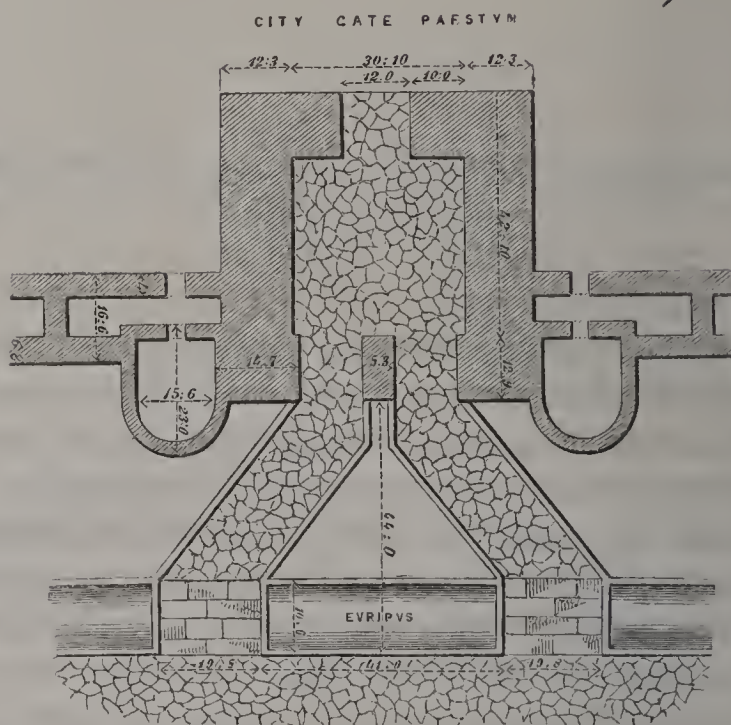


IV.

DESCRIPTION OF ONE OF THE CITY GATES
OF PÆSTUM.

IT is to be regretted that the interesting and numerous remains of ancient Pæstum, lying in one of the most beautiful of the Italian gulfs, and immediately on the sea-shore, should hitherto have been so imperfectly investigated. For even a short day among the ruins is sufficient to convince the professional traveller that, independently of the well-known Greek Doric edifices which form such grand subjects in the landscape, there are antiquities lying just above the surface, or at a few feet beneath it, which, if properly examined, would further explain many customs of the ancients, and produce antiquities, such as vases and other funereal relics, of great value and beauty. The works of Delagardette, Major, Piranesi, and Wilkins, make us but imperfectly acquainted with those noble structures, which rise above the plain: imposing evidences of ancient civilization and grandeur. And the studies of Mazois, perhaps more complete, are still unedited, although prepared for publication, so that we are deprived of the results of his more pains-taking investigations.

After my return from Greece, I passed with a friend a few days at Pæstum, making some studies of the ruins; and, among other objects of curiosity, my fellow-traveller and myself followed the course of the city walls, as far as they existed. One spot in particular caught our attention, already familiar with the remains of ancient cities, as indicating a very peculiar arrangement for a city gate. A portion only of the construction rose above the surface of the soil, but the indications of the ground plainly demonstrated the plan.



The walls had a fossa or ditch outside, at the distance of some forty feet; and this ditch was apparently about ten feet wide; but it is now quite filled in. There were two bridges to traverse the ditch, about twenty feet wide, and they led up to a double opening or gateways, divided by a pier five feet three inches wide. The whole entrance presented a plain front about fifty-five feet wide, flanked on each end by a circular tower, the outer diameter of which is above twenty feet. The nature of the construction was so irregular, that the dimensions could only be taken approximatively, but with sufficient accuracy for such a building. The thickness of the wall at the gateways was twelve feet nine inches, and beyond this was a court about thirty feet square. On the further side of the court, next the city, was a single doorway, twelve feet wide, and the wall was there eleven feet three inches thick. The city walls were sixteen feet six inches broad, and consisted of two thicknesses of wrought masonry four feet in depth, the central mass consisting of

rougher work, and thus constituting the emplecton of the Greeks, described by Vitruvius* and Pliny,† and the reimputa of the Romans; the facings were united together by ties (*διαγόνοι*) and occasional transverse walls. The mass of walling round the court was of solid masonry throughout. We were surprised, however, by the walls of the circular towers, which were only two feet three inches thick; but this perhaps was merely the facing, and probably there was an inner casing, now destroyed, which gave the solidity necessary to resist the battering-rams, and other warlike engines of the ancients. At all events, the remains still existing are so little above the general surface as to leave several points of construction undecided.

Having thus generally described the actual state of the remains, we shall proceed to consider this remarkable gateway, in reference to the description of city walls given by Vitruvius,‡ and to compare it with other like examples of the ancients. Vitruvius states "that the foundations of the towers and walls should be dug down to the solid, and should be of an enlarged breadth, proportioned to the proposed thickness of the walls above, and that they should be filled in solid. The towers should project from the outside face of the wall, so that, when the enemy approach to the attack, their flanks should be exposed to the darts of the defenders in the towers to the right and left, their sides being undefended. Care should be taken that the approach to attack the wall should not be easy, but should be precipitous, and the access to the gates not direct, but oblique to the left; for when thus arranged, the right side of the assailants, uncovered by the shield, would be next the wall. The thickness of the walls should be such, that armed men should pass each other without obstruction. The towers also should be round or polygonal, for the war engines more easily destroy the square ones, because the rams break away the angles

* *De Arch.*, l. ii. c. viii.

† *Hist. Nat.*, l. xxxvi. c. 22.

‡ *De Arch.*, l. i. c. 5.

by their strokes; but they cannot harm in the circular towers, as the wedge-shaped stones of the walls converge to a centre. But not, under all circumstances, is there to be a ditch; but only on those occasions when the approach of the enemy on the outside would be on a level plane. In such cases, the fosse is first to be made of the most ample width and depth, and the foundation of the wall is to be carried down into the hollow of the ditch, and is to be constructed thick enough to resist easily the pressure of the earth."

The example before us presents many illustrations of the precepts of the Roman master. There are two ways of approach, thus dividing the hostile phalanx into two bodies, and bringing them more immediately under the towers, and exposing them to a shower of missiles on all sides. The ditch would form a certain obstruction to the advancing host, and probably was anciently much wider than it appears at present. The double aperture offers another impediment, strengthened by the stout bars (*μοκλοι*) which held closed the thick gates, lined with sheets of metal. But even if the besiegers had penetrated this first barrier, and had got within the court, here they were surrounded by the lofty and thick walls, the tops of which would be covered by warriors, ready to hurl huge masses down upon the dense crowd penned within the enclosure. The narrower opening next the city, made secure, would stop the further progress of the attack; and until this was cleared the slaughter would be immense. The arrangement of these gates is the reverse of that adopted at Messene,* where the outer gate was with a single aperture, and the inner ones on the other side of the circular court and next the city double, if not triple, there being one for the carriages, and one if not two for the foot-passengers. In the plan of the Hexapylon of Syracuse, as drawn by C. R. Cockerell, R.A., in HUGHES'S *Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania*, there are double gates, but no court. Some of

* *Supplementary Volume of the Antiquities of Athens: Entrance Gate of Messene.*

the walls are twelve feet thick, where they consist of solid masonry; but where they are constructed of emplecton, as at Pæstum, they are sixteen feet thick, which is a remarkable coincidence, the thickness of the Pæstum walls being sixteen feet six inches.



The restoration here presented is founded upon various authorities. Other gates of Pæstum present this class of masonry—the pseudi-sodomum of Vitruvius. The large lintels over the doorways are frequent, and notably in the example of Messene; and the loop-holes are like those in the towers of that city. As regards the height of the walls, it was a strange rule of the Greeks, as stated by an ancient writer, to make them as many cubits high as they were stadia long; and those of Athens, part of which were built by Callicrates, the architect employed by Pericles, appear to have been forty cubits high, equalling about sixty feet of our measure. These walls are

represented as forty feet high; that over the gateways fifty feet; and the towers sixty-five feet, in order more completely to rise above the probable height of the moveable war-turrets (πύργοι) of the besiegers. There are no remains of the pavement of the roadway, nor of the parapets or construction of the bridges; but the indications were sufficient to convince one of their existence and position, and possibly the roadway of the bridge may have been of wood, to allow of their easier removal or destruction on the approach of the enemy.

It can hardly be doubted that the gateways of cities had several stories, one over the other, containing galleries, in which the warriors in large bodies might under cover, and at considerable elevation, more completely assail the besiegers as they approached the gate. And the terraces on the top afforded the opportunity of placing catapults and other engines, which, from their very elevation, would be the more formidable as a means of defence to the besieged.

It appears to me probable that the term *diplon*, as applied to city gates by the ancients, referred to this arrangement of an inner and outer gate, and not to the division of one of the entrances into two apertures, one of which was probably appropriated to the chariots, the other to the foot passengers.

THOMAS L. DONALDSON.

V.

COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR SCHOENBORN,
OF POSEN, RELATIVE TO A MONUMENT
RECENTLY DISCOVERED BY HIM IN LYCIA.

WITH regard to the monument of which you desire particulars, I fear my information will be deemed very insufficient. On two several occasions that I visited it, I endeavoured to examine it with becoming care; but the first time I was unable to do so from the heavy winter rains, and the second time I was prevented by another cause.

The monument is in Lycia. That Mr. Spratt and Professor Forbes should not have found it is rather wonderful. Yet how often in these countries one passes in the immediate vicinity of extensive ruins without perceiving them! at least, such has not unfrequently happened to me. It abuts close upon the ruins of a small mountain town, which is partly built of very good materials, but a portion is of later date; as is rendered evident by a Byzantine cross. I believe the fortress to be of still later time, and that it was on the occasion of building this that the eastern side of the peribolus was thrown down, in order not to have any wall, behind which an enemy might hide himself; for only on the eastern side is an assault on the city practicable. The same reason must account for other magnificent tombs having been destroyed which were near the peribolus, and were built in imitation of wooden constructions. The ancient name of the place I have not been able to guess. The view that presents itself from the peribolus, I consider as the most beautiful that I have ever beheld. To the east one looks towards a distant promontory; below you is the sea, with a row of rocky

islands; on the north and west rise mountains above mountains, while the immediate foreground is grand and striking.

The monument consists of a peribolus enclosing a sarcophagus, showing its sepulchral character. It is of a rectangular form, and the enclosing wall is about thirty paces long, by twenty-five in width. It is formed of large squared stones, often of great length, which are placed in two courses, one above the other. Three sides of the quadrangle are in very good preservation, but the fourth, or eastern side, as already observed, is destroyed. The place which the colossal sarcophagus, within the peribolus, once occupied, is very discernible, for the lower part of the sarcophagus, formed of beautiful white marble, is still existing. The entrance to the monument has been on the south side; the doorway is yet perfect, but the steps which must have given access to it are wanting. The bas-reliefs of which you inquire are in the enclosing wall, and form continuous friezes. On the exterior of the south wall are two such rows, placed immediately one over the other. Three similar rows line the interior of the same wall, while the west and north sides each have two rows. The sculpture is in rather low relief, as is generally the case in the tombs of Lycia. Some of them are greatly injured by the action of the weather, though still in sufficient preservation to enable the subject to be distinguished clearly at a little distance. What gives them the greatest interest is the subject represented, for part of them refer to the *Iliad*; and the deceased to whom this structure was erected must, in all probability, have derived his descent from one of the Homeric heroes. On one of the sculptured friezes of the enclosing wall is Achilles, when, full of anger and vexation, he sat on the sea shore, near the high-prowed vessels. On an adjoining slab is the herald who calls the Achæans together; then follow warriors, next to whom are battle-scenes. The battle approaches the city: the gate is besieged. The Trojan elders show themselves above and upon the gate. Thus the sculptures correspond, subject by subject, with the *Iliad*. The

attack on the gate is evidently placed as the centre of the composition. Not only is the sculpture here of higher relief than in the other parts, but, moreover, in this instance, the two chief rows are connected with each other with reference to the subject represented.

I must observe, however, that the bas-reliefs do not all relate to the siege of Troy, and few of those on the south side seem so appropriated.

From consideration of the subject they represent, from the certain connexion of the bas-reliefs with this place, and from their beauty, (notwithstanding they have greatly suffered from time, and are in very low relief,) I should assign to them the first place among the sculptured remains of Lycia; and, therefore, earnestly desire that they may be sufficiently known before they stand the chance of being destroyed or lost. The latter evil has already commenced. Between my first and second visits, two travellers, on their way from Egypt, passed this way, accompanied by an Egyptian Turk. The latter, whom I met on his return, told me that they had removed on camels the two corner stones of the exterior sculptures—which I had missed after my first visit—and had taken them to Smyrna. You may conclude from this, that the sculptures are of such excellence as to excite the desire of removing them, or, at least, some portions of the entire monument.

In another year I shall probably be in a position to give you additional and more precise information. I hope to be able to revisit this country, in order that I may more fully investigate this monument and some theatres; and I may, possibly, also visit the interior of Caria and Cilicia Tracheia. I thank you for your suggestions, and will certainly work up the various valleys of the latter country, instead of following the line of coast. It will be my principal endeavour to bring back drawings of these bas-reliefs; and should my wishes be accomplished, I shall have great pleasure in forwarding them to you.

A. SCHOENBORN.

VI.

ON THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS IN THE
LESCHE AT DELPHI.

PART I.

THE present Essay has for its subject the paintings with which Polygnotus adorned the Lesche, a building dedicated by the Cnidians at Delphi: the important place of the painter in the history of art, his ancient renown, the grand scale of his compositions, and the interest of the detailed notice of them that has come down to us, are claims on the attention of artist and archæologist which have met with due response in France as well as Germany.* England has hitherto, so far as I am aware, contributed nothing in illustration and elucidation of the subject, which, after all that has been done, is still by no means exhausted; a field where many more may yet toil without losing all their labour, and, it is to be hoped, without serious offence to those who have gone before.

Some lessons may perhaps be found at the present time in the examination of an ancient instance of pictorial decoration of a public building, that may have an application even beyond that simple historical interest which would justify the present attempt to gather up the better result of earlier inquirers, though it should not succeed, as I trust it will, in advancing

* *Die Gemälde des Polygnotus erläutert von* OTTO JAHN; Kiel, 1841. *Die Composition der Polygnotischen Gemälde in der Lesche zu Delphi*, F. G. WELCKER; Berlin, 1848. *Epikritische Betrachtungen über die Polygnotischen Gemälde*, &c. K. F. HERMANN; Gottingen, 1849. These are the more important recent essays on the subject, and furnish full references to all the antecedent literature.

the discussion some steps nearer to the necessary term given by restricted materials.

Polygnotus, the earliest Greek painter of whose works we have any strictly historical notice, was the son and pupil of Aglaophon of Thasos, who also educated another son, Aristophon, in the art. His age is marked in general terms by his intimate attachment to Cimon and his family. Two most important public monuments that are associated with the name of Cimon were embellished by the paintings of his friend—the Theseion, which still exists, and that Stoa which was to furnish a birth-place and a name for the noblest of human philosophies. In the latter, the Pœcile Stoa, he introduced a likeness of Elpinice, sister of Cimon, as Laodike, according to Homer the most beautiful of Priam's daughters. The date of the compliment is not recoverable from the age of the lady, and it is impossible to state with certainty at what date the connexion of Polygnotus with Cimon and with Athens commenced; the attempt of Müller to trace it to the reduction of Thasos by Cimon, B.C. 463, is, to me at least, entirely unsatisfactory.

This island, with its dependencies on the mainland, was long subject to Persia, and was so at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, B.C. 480; it was, therefore, doubtless visited in due course by the victorious Greek fleet, and included, under a remodelled government, in the list of allies under the lead of Athens, and made answerable for an assessment accordingly. This could scarcely have occurred so late as B.C. 469, the later date assigned to the operations of Cimon against the remainder of the Persian force on the Strymon. Even if this were the case, the date gives us an occasion of intimacy six years anterior to that furnished by the revolt of the island and its reduction; but it is far more probable that the attachment of Thasos to the confederacy under the Athenians, dated from an early year in the decade, B.C. 476-466.—See Grote's good chronological note.

But, indeed, it is probable that a family connexion may have existed of much earlier date; Cimon may easily have inherited from his father Miltiades various connexions with Strymonian Thrace, so intimately connected with Thasos, as we find such connexions continued to their illustrious relative, the historian Thucydides, who possessed mining property in the country.

Cimon brought the bones of Theseus to Athens, B.C. 469, and probably Polygnotus was engaged on his Delphic work at the very time the Theseion was building to receive them, as Simonides, who died B.C. 467, supplied his metrical epigraph. That these lines still style the painter a Thasian, may be received as an argument for what it is worth, that he had not then received his Athenian citizenship, which was granted to him in honour of his painting the Pœcile Stoa gratuitously (HARPOCRATION, p. 248).

These are the only approximations to dates of the artist's life that appear worth notice; the general result seems to carry back his full attainments and reputation quite beyond the commencement of the career of Phidias.

Were it not dangerous to infer from one art the tendencies of another, its contemporary, we should be called on by these relative dates to antedate some of the characteristics frequently assumed to be originally Phidian. Pliny, indeed, says that Polygnotus also exercised the art of sculpture, and, we must suppose, in the same spirit as he painted. The following notices furnish us with the leading characteristics of his style and originality (PLINY, xxxv. 9, 35): "Primus mulieres lucidâ veste pinxit, capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit, plurimumque picturæ primus contulit: siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes ostendere, vultum ab antiquo rigore variare." Lucian (*Imag.*, t. ii. p. 465) praises in his figure of Cassandra the expression of the eyebrows, the bloom of the cheeks, and the drapery of the most elaborate fineness, giving the required indication of the form while freely yielding to the wind. Ælian furnishes us with a notice of the extensiveness of his

works; the correctness of his drawing; the delicacy of his draperies; and that he painted life-size. He also mentions his power in passion, expression, and gesture (πάθος καὶ ἥθος καὶ σχημάτων χρῆσις). This excellence in expression gains for him from Aristotle the title of γραφεὺς ἡθικὸς (a painter of noble expression); and in the *Poetica* (ii. 2), he speaks of the works of Polygnotus as furnishing models superior to nature, while those of Pauson were inferior—those of Dionysius simply on a par. Accordingly, in the *Politics* (viii. 8), he approves of the influence on youth of the works of Polygnotus, while he condemns those of Pauson as prejudicial; ἥθος here appears to be equivalent to refinement of expression; elsewhere it is employed to signify characteristic expression generally, and it is in this sense that the same philosopher declares Zeuxis to be absolutely deficient, while Polygnotus is pre-eminent (*Poetic.*, vi. 15).

The excellences thus ascribed to Polygnotus are precisely of that vigorous class that are ever found to be sure promise of the healthy growth and manifold development of a nascent art; it is also in accordance with numerous parallel examples, that, in the hands of the founder of an art, the resources of enriched embellishment provided by it—in the present instance, colour—should be held of subordinate importance. And yet, as in other parallel instances, the resources of colour, so far as they were developed, were employed by the early artist with such thorough feeling of harmony with the best qualities of his style, as even to command a preference on the part of many who were familiar with works of highest elaborateness and finish. Thus witnesses Quintilian: “Primi quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratiâ visenda sint, clari pictores fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaopho (whether the elder or a younger is not clear) quorum simplex color tam sui studiosos adhuc habet, ut illa prope rudia ac velut futuræ innox artis primordia maximis qui post eas exstiterunt, auctoribus præferantur, (he certainly adds—) proprio quodam intelligendi (ut in ea fert opinio) ambitu.”

Cicero mentions Polygnotus among the painters who only used four colours, and were admired “propter formas et lineamenta,” (*Brutus*, xxiii.) In the enumeration of Pliny (xxxv., 32) these colours stand as white, red, yellow, and black; we are surprised to miss the indispensable blue from the list; and the difficulty can scarcely be evaded otherwise than by supposing that the black of the list was itself, or included, a deep shade of blue. In fact, we find the colour of blue-black—the colour of a flesh-fly—distinctly specified by Pausanias as produced. We read of different modes of preparing these colours among the very artists who are said to have been restricted to them; and if more than four pigments were employed, the restriction to four colours falls at once. The value of the evidence, however, is to prove that Polygnotus, as might be expected from his early and healthy epoch, relied for his effects on harmonies of the primary colours; certainly not that the more compound were unknown or unnecessary to him. A preserved passage of Empedocles, contemporary of Polygnotus, and a reference by Galen to his lost work, show how familiar at that date was the practice of the painter in mixing his colours together in various proportions, and thus enabling him to imitate any object in nature. The practice serves the Agrigentine speculator as an illustration of his theory, that all the objects of nature might be and were compounded, by the operation of attraction and repulsion, from a few simple elements. His elements are four—Earth, Air, Fire, and Water—and of these and their combinations the poet-philosopher finds symbols in the four colours which suffice the painter. (GALEN in *Hippocrat. de Hom. Nat. Comm.*, t. iii. p. 101 B.) The author of the Aristotelian discourse on the Cosmos makes the same application. (*De Mundo*, c. v.) The metals and geometrical forms were appropriated on the same principle, and probably at a date much earlier than Polygnotus. Any art and any science, as an organic whole, may evidently furnish a type of expression, and may supply suggestive forms to more comprehensive philosophies—sometimes fantastically; it is not to be

denied, however, that such metaphors, borrowed from art, may have had—have had—great and not altogether detrimental influence, by reflection back upon the art itself. Enthusiastic sympathy with a grand idea of cosmical order and moral harmony, may be traced in some of the best inspirations of the best ages of art. How can art take higher stand than when the artist has a true sense of the dignity of universal nature, and regards his art as capable of furnishing a true and sufficient type and exponent of it; and unsatisfactory and faulty, in so far as it falls short of corresponding harmony and catholicity?

Of the use and treatment of light and shade by Polygnotus we can say little more, than that he left it for a future artist to acquire the renown of an inventor, by at least the extension of this branch of art, and that while he no doubt painted shadow, and modelled and divided his forms by it—thus much is implied by the general scope of his praise—there is every appearance that the union of masses by its means, or the accounting for ærial distances, were problems he left unattempted. On the whole, it seems to me unallowable to make inferences as to the practice of Polygnotus from that of the very peculiar art of vase-painting, in which shadows scarcely make their appearance at all, and never become important, their office being performed by incised lines on dark surfaces, and when the ground of the figure is light by dark lines, the strength of which scarcely seems affected by any reference to degree or direction of illumination.

The defect in the painter's resources, implied by a restricted knowledge of or power over light and shade, has important consequences, affecting his principles of grouping and composition. The subjects painted at Delphi, which we are about to consider, were very extensive, like many others recorded as executed by himself and his immediate contemporaries and successors; and the effective disposition of the numerous figures was doubtless one of the great triumphs aimed at and achieved. But linear perspective seems to have assisted in this as little as

aërial; we shall find very little allusion to any sort of background or general landscape and scenery, and groups are placed one above another in the composition, that, it is clear, were to be conceived as following one behind the other, on the same level ground. The vases here furnish us with a true illustration, and the vase of Meidias in the British Museum, with the subject of the Rape of the Leucippides, and the Apulian amphora, with the madness of Lyncurgus, may be studied in this connexion with great advantage.

The Meidias vase, also, with others, furnishes illustration of the painter's practice in inserting inscriptions on his picture; they agree with the Delphic painting in exhibiting the names of gods or men written against figures, even when most distinctly recognisable by character and attributes; and they furnish examples of the same seeming caprice of inscribing known personages with new names or titles, and of assigning names to subsidiary figures, which are otherwise unknown and destitute of traditional acceptance and position. The significance of these alterations and additions is sometimes detectable in allusion to a pervading principle; but as frequently the solution of the enigma is beyond our reach, and we are disposed to doubt whether it ever had a solution.

The site of the Lesche at Delphi is so exactly indicated in the local description of Pausanias, that more than one traveller has identified it to his satisfaction, but whether remains suffice to indicate the extent and plan of the construction, we are still to learn. Its purpose, however, as a place of public resort for the citizens for intercourse both of business and amusement, implies spaciousness, and its pictorial embellishments are in accordance with the assumption. From its purpose, again, we should, I think, be inclined to infer that it was not entirely roofed in, but rather like an exchange or cloisters, of which it answered the ends—a colonnade, or a combination of colonnades. Pausanias speaks of it as an οἶκημα, a word not much more specific than our "building," in which, when entered, one pic-

ture was on the right hand and another on the left, and his expressions appear to me to suit best the supposition, that they were placed on the opposite walls of a building much longer than it was broad, almost entirely open at one end, and possibly closed entirely at the other. On the assumption that the figures were of life-size, our restoration gives a length for the picture of between ninety and one hundred feet.

At what date the Cnidians erected this building is not stated, nor can we safely assume that the labours of Polygnotus upon it were at their charge. Hermann assumes they were, and so do Schubart and Waltz, in their translation, which, however, I think, misrepresents the text. It seems much less probable that Cnidus incurred this expense, just on emerging from the troubles of the Persian war, than that the Delphians themselves employed upon the work a part of the wealth which poured in upon them, after the discomfiture of Xerxes. So it appears, from the gratitude of the Athenians to the painter, that they, and not Cimon, were responsible for the decoration of the Peisianactian Stoa. The question may affect the elucidation of the pictures very materially, as the traditions of the commissioning state would as certainly be consulted in the work produced, as an Æginetan victor in the games expected that his Epinician Ode should advert to his national connexion with the Æacidæ; the balance of evidence from this source I believe to be conclusively Delphian.

The description which Pausanias gives of the picture is on a plan of his own; he begins at the nearest end of the composition, and gives an inventory of the figures as they occur, one after another, with notes, more or less careful, of their relative position, and comments interspersed, far from being in every case the most interesting and pertinent that it was in his power at the moment to have written down; but as "travellers must be content," so we must learn—and there is every disposition to teach us—to be content with archæological travellers.

I will, then, in the first instance, follow our guide with

thankfulness his own way through the picture, referring as we proceed, to the engraving, in which I have endeavoured to exhibit an ordination of figures and groups, that shall be in accordance with his words when plain and unequivocal, and, where uncertainty prevails, in accordance with the obvious or probable requirements of the subject, and with those principles of arrangement that declare themselves in the parts of the composition most intelligibly reported to us.

For this purpose I have made use of the design of Riepenhausen, lately republished by Welcker, as altered to his own suggestions. I have left the individual groups, with few exceptions, as they were, while freely revising their relative distribution to accord with my own views, so far as they can be made to do so by such treatment. The general probabilities of the composition would be much assisted, not only by a style of drawing more in harmony with its age and character, and a better scale of graphic importance among the single figures, but even by modification of general form of some groups, especially of those in most immediate connexion with each other.

The nature of the task we have set ourselves will presently appear; we have to determine the relative position of groups and figures, in order to ascertain their mutual relations and significance, of which position is a main exponent—and we have to help out the imperfect indications of position by inferences from significance and intention of expression. This renders it necessary to premise a few observations on the grouping of the painter: in the first place, although he disposes his groups at different heights in the picture, I do not think that he made them follow in quite regular lines; I think he took care to avoid the appearance of their doing so. Pausanias could scarcely have avoided a reference to such lines, had he found them as marked here as on the chest of Cypselus—he would have seized at once on such aids to enumeration. The groups themselves repeatedly confirm the inference, which, however, implies niceties of artistical management that are

without the conditions of a typical restoration. As the groups are systems of figures, so systems of groups make up the picture, for it is on far too extensive a scale for the group to be the picture, as in more limited performances; and we shall find that the combinations of groups into systems, take courses to a great extent independent of horizontal arrangement, and tending indeed to counteract or relieve the impression of its prevalence.

The sense of interval must have been a chief secret of the painter's art,—the adjustment of interval a main expedient in the effective and consistent distribution of his groups,—interval to be economized, so as to gain every gradation of distinctness without risk of confusion, on the one hand, and, on the other, interval to be freely conceded for the sake of proportion, lightness, flexibility of the leading members of the composition, without incurring the mischief of the predominance of uninteresting barren space, the intrusion of obstructive blocks and callous patches. The observation how successfully all this and more, is managed in the pediments and by the vase-painters, may instruct us what may have been effected by such a master as Polygnotus.

The following is an abstract of the description given by Pausanias of the first great composition:—

“ When the building is entered, the general subject of the
“ painting on the right hand is Ilion captured, and the depar-
“ ture of the Greeks. The preparations are in progress for the
“ embarkation of Menelaus; a ship is represented and sailors in
“ it, men and boys among them. In the middle of the ship is
“ the steersman Phrontis, holding two oars. . . . Below him
“ is one Ithaimenes bearing clothing, and Echoiax is going
“ down by the ship's ladder, holding a brazen hydria.

“ Polites, Strophius, and Alphiüs are striking the tent of
“ Menelaus, which is not far from the ship. Amphialus is
“ taking down another tent, and at his feet sits a boy. There
“ is no inscription to the boy.

“ Briseis is standing, and also Diomede above her, and

“ Iphis in front of the two, and they seem to be reconnoitring
 “ the beauty of Helen. Helen herself is seated, and Eurybates
 “ near her. Her attendants are Electra and Panthalis, the
 “ latter stands beside her, while Electra fastens her mistress’s
 “ shoe.

“ Over Helen sits a man wrapped in a purple garment,
 “ and exceedingly cast down; easy to be recognised as Helenus,
 “ without reading the inscription. Near Helenus is Meges
 “ wounded in the arm, and Lycomedes beside Meges with a
 “ wound on the wrist, and others on the leg and head. There
 “ is Euryalus also wounded on head and hand. These are
 “ higher up than Helen on the painting.

“ Following in order upon Helen is the mother of Theseus
 “ (Æthra), and one of his sons, Demophon, in a state of anxiety,
 “ to judge from his gesture, as to whether he will be able to
 “ restore Æthra to liberty. . . . It seems that Eurybates, in
 “ the picture, has come to Helen on the subject of Æthra,
 “ and to report the message of Agamemnon (respecting her
 “ liberation).”

We shall see presently, that notwithstanding the order of the expressions of Pausanias here, Demophon, and not Æthra, must have stood on the side of Helen.

“ The Trojan women are represented as captives, and
 “ lamenting; there is painted Andromache, and a boy stands
 “ before her taking hold of her breast; Medesicasta is also
 “ painted, one of the illegitimate daughters of Priam; like
 “ Andromache she wears a covering on her head, but Polyxena
 “ has her hair plaited (or in a knot), after the fashion of
 “ maidens.” The position of this group is indicated presently as succeeding Æthra; hence the presumption in other cases, when no difference of level is mentioned, that the place of the figure or group is on the level, or nearly so, of the last that is named and placed. But this is not always the case.

“ He has then painted Nestor with a *pileus* on his head,
 “ and holding a spear; a horse seems about to roll itself in the
 “ dust.” A notice presently shows that the horse stood beside

Nestor. "As far as the horse the shore extends, and pebbles
"are seen upon it, but from this point there is no farther
"appearance of sea."

"Upwards from the women who are between Æthra and
"Nestor (Andromache, &c.), are other captives, Klymene,
"Kreusa, Aristomache, and Xenodike. . . . On a couch above
"these are painted Deïnome, Metioche, Persis, and Kleodike."
The expressions appear to me to allow the interpretation that
the captives on the couch—probably a long and low group—
were less immediately above the second group than that was
over the first. This is the only instance in which we get in this
picture a distinct notice of triple tiers of erect or sitting figures, a
rule which pervades the companion composition. That, in this
exceptional instance, the three groups are closely connected
in import, and that one of them was disposed about a couch,
are arguments that they were so combined as not much, if at
all, to exceed the total height of the double tiers of some other
portions. This, again, leads me to infer that the scale of the
figures in this picture was somewhat larger, and their treat-
ment more ample, than in the other composition; a contrast of
which Homer may be said to set the example in his com-
panion Epics, and which has plastic and graphic precedent of
the highest authority. Another proof is, that when restored
with figures on the same scale, this picture is found too short
to match its companion.

"Epeius also is painted naked, overthrowing the Trojan
"wall to the foundation; above the wall, the head only of the
"wooden horse appears." As it is clear, from what is to
follow, that Epeius was not on the lower line of the picture,
we must place him, in the absence of other directions, above
Nestor.

The text appears to me to bear out the representation I
have adopted, that nothing of the wooden horse was seen in
the picture but its head that appeared above the wall; Welcker,
who exhibits the entire figure, must interpret the passage
differently.

Pausanias then proceeds to enumerate the figures of another group, which must have ranged nearly in a line with Epeius, as the notice already referred to excludes them from the lower course; "Polypœtes, son of Pirithous, and Akamas beside him; Ulysses armed; Ajax, son of Oileus, with a shield, stands by an altar, making oath concerning the outrage against Cassandra, and Cassandra herself sits on the ground, holding the figure of Athene, which she displaced from its seat, when Ajax dragged her away. The sons of Atreus are represented helmeted, and Menelaus has a shield bearing a serpent, in allusion to the ominous serpent that appeared at the sacrifice at Aulis. Upon these matters they are taking the oath of Ajax.

"In a direct line with the horse that is by Nestor is Neoptolemus; he has just killed Ellassus, who has the appearance of one who still just breathes, and he is striking with his sword Astynous, who has fallen on his knee."

From the reference of the position of the horse to Neoptolemus, and of that of Nestor to Æthra, I have no doubt that, though they were grouped together, the horse was for the most part behind Nestor, and that the interposition of the horse, and the termination of the shore just in front of it, were managed in such a way as to interrupt the continuousness of the subject very distinctly at this point; the body of Ellassus may also be disposed behind Neoptolemus to assist the same effect. I have transferred Nestor to the near side of his horse, and invite the congratulations of the equestrian on the change.

"An altar also is painted, and a little boy clinging to it for fear; on the altar lies a brazen cuirass composed of back and front piece. On the other side of the altar is represented Laodike standing. After Laodike is a stone base, and upon it a brazen λουτήριον (basin.) Medusa, (a daughter of Priam was so named according to Stesichorus,) sits on the ground, holding the stone foot or base with both her hands. Beside Medusa is an old woman, with hair cut close, (or it may be a

“eunuch,) with a naked little child on her knees, which is
“represented holding its hand before its eyes for fear.

“Then dead,—Pelis, naked, is cast upon his back, and
“below Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetus, both still retaining
“their arms; and others higher up than these—Leocritus above
“the *louterion*, and above Eioneus and Admetus, Korœbus.”

Leocritus, who lies above the *louterion*, being associated in respect of height in the picture with a figure that is above Eioneus and Admetus, necessarily fixes the place of the latter in the lower course, at the bottom of the picture, which agrees with enumeration of them without more special notice of position, than that they lie under Pelis, who is named immediately after the eunuch with the child. Pelis, we are bound to assume, is named first, as nearer to the preceding group; and this agrees with the fact, that Korœbus, whose position in the picture is higher than Pelis, has his position marked as above the very corpses that are under Pelis; Pelis clearly, being nearer to the group of the *louterion*, does not extend entirely over the space occupied by the pair of corpses: and that the position of Korœbus is referred to theirs and not to his, proves that this figure lay further towards the left of the picture.

“Above Korœbus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. . . Sinon, the associate (or companion) of Ulysses and Anchialus, are carrying to burial the body of Laomedon; there is also one other dead man painted, with the name Eresus.”

Pausanias seems to hurry over the latter part of the picture, for we are here left without leading indications of distribution. From the tenor of his course, however, I think we are at liberty to place Sinon and his companion higher than the group of Priam, and the body of Eresus, named last, towards the right. In which direction should the body of Laomedon be carried? I am inclined to think to the right, as towards the Greek quarters, and have reversed the group accordingly.

“There is then the house of Antenor, with the skin of the
“*pardalis* suspended above the entrance—the signal to the

“Greeks to spare his house. Theano is represented with her
 “sons—Glaucus, who sits on a cuirass, and Eurymachus upon
 “a rock. Beside him stands Antenor, and next to him his
 “daughter Krino, who carries a young child. The expression
 “of the faces of all is that of misfortune. There are servants
 “placing a coffer and other utensils on an ass, on which a little
 “child is seated.

“In this part of the painting is the epigraph of Simonides,—
 “Polygnotus of Thasos, son of Aglaophon, painted the Acro-
 “polis of Ilion devastated.”

In the absence of instructions, I venture to place the house of Antenor at a height to range with that of the tents at the opposite end of the picture, quite or nearly. Antenor with his family finds place before his dwelling, and the ass and the servants loading it, of whom two appear, in mercy, to be sufficient, form a concluding group on the lower line.

Still there remains to be settled the position, relatively to the other groups, of that of the adjuration of Ajax, comprising, with Cassandra, seven figures. We have seen that all the way from the ship of Menelaus to the heap of slain beyond the *louterion*, Pausanias accounts for the occupation of every place on the lower plan of the picture, and leaves no chance I would say, but that Welcker has ventured it, for conscientiously interpolating a mass of figures so important. But, on the other hand, there is a wide gap left above this series, between Epeius above Nestor on one side, and the slain that lie above Eioneus and Admetus on the other. There is no specific notice of any figure on the second general plan above the horse: the interval that probably divided it from the next group: the body of Elassus: Neoptolemus, Astynous, the child and altar, and Laodike; and, indeed, as the body of Leocritus probably occupied little space, we might also add, above the group around the *louterion*. To this vacant space, therefore, we may assign with confidence the group of Greek chiefs and Cassandra, inserted as it is in the catalogue immediately after the mention of Epeius.

A survey of the general arrangement of the groups must inform us how far the place it thus naturally takes, accords with the requirements of graphic sequence and proportion.

The tent of Menelaus, his manned vessel, from which Echoiax and Ithæmenes are bringing, as we shall see, various articles for Helen; the group of Helen, with the fair triad who observe her; her attendants and the herald, are all in intimate connexion with each other, and form, in fact, one scene, to which are supplemental Demophon and Æthra a little remote, and Nestor, who by his position on the shore, which extends under all these figures, is brought into relation with the embarkation of Helen as distinctly in the picture as we shall find him to be in the traditions it was founded on.

Another system of groups, comparatively disconnected with this, is formed of the three groups of Trojan captive women, disposed one above another from the bottom of the picture to the top, with a tendency to the right; and the supplemental group of wounded Greek warriors, with the dejected Helenus, another scene in camp. It is by this combination, and by the insertion of the group of Polyxena and Andromache between Nestor and Demophon, that this system of groups naturally attaches to—articulates with, the preceding.

Nestor, by the tranquillity of his isolated position, is a formal termination of one of the divisions of the subject, given by Pausanias as the Departure of the Greeks; he stands as the point at rest of a string that is vibrating harmonies. The second division is the representation of the devastated Acropolis of Troy, introduced on the upper line by Epeius subverting the walls, and followed up by the important subject of the adjuration of Ajax. By the correspondence of Epeius to Nestor below on one side, and to Sinon on the same line on the other, the painter, while he places the more interesting Greek chiefs together, succeeds in uniting the interest of this otherwise very distinct group, to the circumjacent subjects. The number of first-class figures that take

part in this action, render it the most effective counterpoise to the elaborate subject of Helen and her attendants on the right hand division; but by giving it an upper location, he conducts the interest over the field of the painting, and enlivens that portion of it which otherwise would be tame and unrelieved, if abandoned entirely to dejected captives and piles of the slain. Placed as it is, it gains and gives effect by the contrast of the adjoining scenes.

The solemnity of this scene enhances the violent expression in the group of which the slaughterous Neoptolemus is the chief figure, and similar enhancement is derived from its position between the mourning captives and Nestor, on one side, and the slain Trojans on the other.

The alarm of the child held by the eunuch marks the extent of the lower group. Beyond this, we arrive at a system of groups of slain Trojans, disposed at various levels, from the lowest to the uppermost plan of the picture, and thus materially assisting the unity of the composition, by correspondence with the similar distribution of the groups of captives.

Lastly, the picture terminates with Antenor and his family—his house, and the preparations for his departure. The antithetical correspondence of the preparations here to those proceeding at the other end of the picture, is obvious; and we have just remarked another instance of the same principle, which we shall find freely applied in the companion picture. These hints naturally bring to mind the rules of parallelism so remarkably exemplified in other Greek compositions, especially the pediments, and the result has been, that in the attempts of several restorers, great violence has been done to the words of Pausanias, in order to force the groups into numerical and geometrical agreements which they vigorously resist, and, it must be said, with a success with which they ought to be satisfied. Hence, the grandeur and boldness of the rhythmical intention of the present composition have failed of recognition, and we have placed before us instead, a vain phantasm of the

art of Polygnotus, which, could we believe it, would only prove how hard he laboured, and to how little purpose, for an end that, at the sacrifice he would seem prepared to make for it, was merely mechanical.

No ingenuity, not to say unscrupulousness, can make the family group of Antenor an equipoise, graphically, to that of Helen; and this difficulty being insurmountable, the theory of reconstruction dependent on it collapses by necessary fate.

The compositions that enriched the pediments of the Greek temples were adapted to be seen from a distance and taken in by the eye at once; they thus represent on a single line a simple central action, to which every figure on either side bears a certain relation; the requirements of the architectonic style made the rule of parallelism still more stringent. This rule has a certain application to the circumstances of the pictures we are studying, but much more indulgently,—the field of the painting was evidently too large for the whole to be taken in at a glance by a spectator comparatively close to it; to apply the same rule would therefore have been to challenge a painful, and after all futile attempt. The symmetry of the arrangement, therefore, tells by its effect on the memory rather than immediately upon the eye. The picture was one to be perused; the interest of the perusal, I doubt not, was sustained by that skilful bias of grouping that indicates a sequel and promises a complement, but when these came I believe that they pleased, not so much by proportions measurable by the eye, but rather by fulfilling an expectation and satisfying a want—"congregating in a full and natural close, like music." Thus, while the departure of Antenor has that degree of correspondence to the embarkation of Helen that gives roundness to the subject, the two incidents, as represented, have the differences appropriate to them as, respectively, the commencement and the conclusion of the subject, and as the main incident of the first section of the picture may be expected to differ from the supplemental incident of the second. How essentially the picture is adapted for consecutive perusal

appears at once, when we attempt to follow the subject the reverse way of the enumeration of the figures by Pausanias, unskilful as this is; we find, on trial, that we are moving harshly against reversed and ruffled plumage—painfully backing a steed, that can only move with speed and gracefulness when it moves forward.

But the painter of the Lesche had not only to provide that his picture should explain and develop itself as the spectator moved on—it was also necessary that, when the review was completed, the resultant impression from the multifarious groups should be clear, forcible, and, as a leading condition of force and clearness, that it should be at unity with itself. But as the harmony of the solar system is only preserved by the enormous superiority in mass and influence of the central sun, so necessary, in such a complicated composition, is a certain central and dominant interest, which shall admit no question of its superiority, and give the scale and rule of subordination for all that may be attached to it and dependent on it. For this strategical—this artistic key we are bound to look, especially after the indications of parallelism between extremities and wings, to the middle of the picture, or at least, to the most interesting of the groups that are near the middle. The groups before which, thus conducted, we have to take our stand, are those in which Ajax Oileus, and Neoptolemus, are respectively concerned, and it now behoves us to penetrate to the sentiment and significance of these groups, for here, if anywhere, will be found the explanation why Polygnotus, from a rich and multifarious subject, selected the incidents he did in preference to others, and treated them in the way he did, both individually and relatively. The son of Achilles takes precedence, in consideration of a remark of the describer.

“Neoptolemus is represented,” says Pausanias, “having just killed Elassus, whoever Elassus may be,—he has the appearance of one just expiring; and he strikes with his sword Astynous, mentioned in the poem of Lescheus, who has fallen

on his knee. Polygnotus has made Neoptolemus alone, of all the Greeks, continuing the slaughter of the Trojans, because the entire painting was designed by him to have proper reference to the tomb of Neoptolemus."

By the "entire painting" there can be little doubt, from the general tenor of the sentence, that Pausanias intended the entire pictorial decoration of the Lesche, on either wall, to be understood; and we shall have to consider the point with some care, in reference to the other picture,—but at present we have our work before us.

The poem of Lescheus, in which Astynous was mentioned, was the Cyclic Epic, the *Iliou persis*, or destruction of Ilion, from which Polygnotus borrowed other names of subordinate personages; and Pausanias by repeated references indicates that he considered the painter to have had this poem particularly in his mind throughout; may we look to the records that remain of the poem of Lescheus, and recognise there the scheme and story of our painting? We shall be disappointed: from the silence of Pausanias, it seems clear that the poem did not furnish the treatment, and probably not the subject, of the oath of Ajax; and in the subjects it did furnish, or might have furnished, we find traces not to be mistaken of the painter's originality and independence in referring to various poetical sources for his materials, while the management of them was his own. We have therefore, I apprehend, to confront the groups of the painter, not with one particular record, but with the general fund of poetry and tradition that may illustrate them, and trace the operations of a constructive, and not merely a reproducing energy.

The second and more decided indication of our antiquary, as to the reference of the paintings to the tomb of Neoptolemus, remains to be appreciated; he says nothing to illustrate or justify his assertion, and it scarcely seems to be an inference of his own from contemplation of the great works; yet, speaking so positively as he does, he must have had grounds that satisfied

him, and I suspect they were the information of a guide, and dependent on local tradition, and even authentic record.

The tomb of Neoptolemus was in immediate proximity to the Lesche at Delphi, as both were to the great temple of Apollo; and there the Delphians paid him yearly honours as a hero. Pausanias asserts that these honours were of late origin, and in recompence for the personal service of the hero in the repulse of Brennus and his Celts (l. iv. 4.), his very monument having previously been an object of dishonour and neglect, as that of an enemy. It is true, that this assertion is disproved by allusions in PINDAR'S Seventh *Nemean* (v. 47); but it is also true, that this very ode furnishes the strongest evidence of the prevalence, and that at Delphi, of a prejudice unfavourable to Neoptolemus in his relations to the place. As in so many other instances, there were evidently conflicting traditions on the subject, and other traditions that endeavoured to reconcile both stories. The *animus* that originated these variations is constantly traceable to local or national feelings, rivalries or collisions, which varied from time to time, and gave rise in their course to traditions that survived them. Thus, the original charge against Neoptolemus has every appearance of expressing an early hostility between Delphi and tribes to the North and West and elsewhere, associated with his name; and it is of so grave a character, that however subsequent policy may have qualified it, I do not doubt that the prevailing tendency of Delphic tradition was to make a public and impressive example of the son of Achilles. Euripides represents (*Andromache*) that Neoptolemus paid two visits to Delphi, the first on a really impious errand, to demand reparation from Apollo for the part he had taken in the death of Achilles; his second visit, for the purpose of expiating the error of the first, terminated in his death, slain at the altar of the god by the Delphians, at the instigation of Orestes, who accused him of designs on the treasures of the god. According to Virgil (*Æn.*, iii. 331), Orestes himself slew him—and at an altar. This circumstance

recurs in all accounts, and was held to be an example of divine retribution for his sacrilegious slaughter of Priam at the altar of Zeus Herkeios. (PAUS., iv. 17, 4.)

According to Pausanias, in whom I have great confidence for rendering the genuine Delphic tradition, Neoptolemus was reckoned in the unholy list of plunderers of the treasures of the god, and molesters of his services, and was slain at the express command of the Pythia, by the priest of Apollo, and on his altar. The altar was shown to Pausanias in the temple near the iron throne on which Pindar, when he visited Delphi, sat to sing his compositions in honour of Apollo. These are lost, but the slight account we possess of one of them, is of interest from its bearing on the present subject.

Pindar, in the ode already referred to, represents that Pyrrhus was present at Delphi to dedicate offerings from his Trojan spoil, and was slain by one of the priests with a sacrificial knife in chance-medley dispute about the flesh of the victims; but, as we learn from the scholiast, he is here excusing himself to the Æginetans, jealous of the honour of the Æacidæ, whom he had offended by at least appearing, in a pæan written for the Delphians, to favour the legend that Pyrrhus met his fate in a sacrilegious enterprise. The sensitiveness of the Æginetans, if Pindar had not really, as he probably had, favoured this imputation, is proof of the vital energy of the tradition at the very date of the pictures of Polygnotus, of whom Pindar, it must be remembered, was a contemporary.

But in this case the picture of Polygnotus may have been as offensive to the Æginetans, and other dependents of Neoptolemus, as was the pæan of Pindar; this is a matter, however, that we cannot enter into, and the terms of our bond will be satisfied if we examine how far the painter laid stress upon the imputation that the poet was fain to extenuate or retract.

Neoptolemus then is represented as alone of all the Greeks still continuing the slaughter, the last to cease from slaying, and only ceasing because the last of his enemies was slain; the

trait agrees with the bloodthirst and relentlessness ascribed to him in the Cyclic poem, which, however, only expanded the characteristics given in a few distinct and graphic touches by Homer. Ulysses describes to the shade of Achilles, how, when tears and trembling prevailed among the chiefs imperilled in the wooden horse, his son gave no sign of weakness, but still urged immediate sally from the hold, and grasped his spear and sword-hilt with impatience, breathing woe to the Trojans. Polygnotus, it is true, avoids, like Homer, the shocking exhibition of the death of Priam, with its ferocious circumstances; but he does not fail to remind us of them by the body of the old king lying in the centre of a heap of slain subjects and defenders. The carefulness of the artist to soften the painfulness of the scene, is further observable in the assignment to the victims falling under the sword of Neoptolemus, of names not known, or not familiar. The ferocity and recklessness of the hero are, however, characterized in the most important point, by the disregard of the sacred objects and the sacred precinct they indicate—the altar and *louterion* to which women and children are clinging in horror and despair. Laodice, it is true, is said to be standing by the altar, and the phrase seems cold when contrasted with the excited action of Medusa, who is beyond her; but, without supposing Polygnotus intended to adopt the mythus according to which she was swallowed up by the earth—the gods according her prayer, the silence of Pausanias need not interfere with the belief, that Polygnotus reconciled her attitude to the proprieties of the occasion, by those indications of passion and emotion of which he was so great a master.

The empty cuirass that lies on the altar to which a child is clinging, is a symbol of the destitution of the city, its adult population slain—deprived of succour and reliance, both human and divine. The sentiment of the combination is the same as the burial of Astyanax in the shield of his father, in the Attic play.

The associations with the name of Neoptolemus, therefore,

were such that the introduction of sacred furniture into the scene of his violence, only admits of interpretation in the strictest sense. The painter could not have ventured to introduce such details, had it been his object to avoid the chance of the injurious accusations of sacrilege against Pyrrhus, rising up in, taking possession of, the mind of the spectator.

But this is not the only gloss by which Polygnotus illustrated his meaning, and inculcated at once the formal and the moral duties, of respect for sacred localities and moderation in moments of success: both appealing to such deep traditional feeling in the Hellenic mind, both such leading principles in the sacerdotal and religious theologumena of Delphi.

The scene in immediate proximity to the deeds of Neoptolemus, just above his irreverential violence, is the oath of Ajax respecting a crime of the very nature of that which is charged against the son of Achilles. The incident is treated with great importance and impressiveness, aided no little by the connexion of Cassandra in tradition, with the Delphic god. The introduction of six important Greek chiefs into the group, necessarily gives this subject great preponderance; its place in the story is quite in accordance with this, and thus it becomes something more than a mere counterfoil and episode to the incident of Neoptolemus. I think, indeed, that it is the predominant subject of the whole painting, notwithstanding the more vehement action of the lower scene.

At the sack of Troy Ajax Oïleus seized Cassandra, who clung to the figure of Athene, and incensed the goddess by his disregard of the sanctity of the refuge. Some accounts add shameful aggravation to his act; and the confused expressions or faulty readings of Pausanias, indicate that the gravamen of the sacrilege was the displacement of the statue which followed the grasp of the prophetess as he haled her away. The painter seems to have adopted this view, as she sat on the ground holding the figure in her arms.

Ulysses took up the charge against Ajax, and was in favour

of appeasing the divine anger by stoning him; but, after the oath of Ajax,—in disproof of how much of the charge, is not quite clear, no penalty was exacted, and to this original slight was due the vengeance which Athene wreaked on the returning fleet.

The Riepenhausen design puts Ulysses very judiciously in opposition to Ajax, and in the readjustment I have worked through, we find that Neoptolemus is brought midway between Ajax Oïleus and Ulysses, the very position which, by resemblance and contrast, lends force to the spirit of his proceedings. Still further illustration is given by the position of Nestor, who, according to the *Odyssey*, was, as well as Ulysses, at variance with Neoptolemus in debates of policy and counsel. He stands here on the shore, with back turned to the proceedings in the Acropolis, and the *pileus* of the traveller on his head, ready to embark. Ulysses is armed, which is not usual in representations of him, and not absolutely required by the occasion. I suspect that we have here an allusion to another parallel incident in Trojan tradition, and that the arms he wears were intended by the painter to be recognised as those of Achilles, which were conceded to him in opposition to the claims of Telamonian Ajax. The failure of Ajax was the immediate occasion of his madness and suicide; but the ultimate cause of his misfortune, according to the tradition which we recover from the tragedy of Sophocles, was haughty impiety, and offence to Athene especially, by boasting of his deeds as independent of divine assistance. It was like impiety that brought down the thunder on Oïlean Ajax, and thus the two heroes agree in character and fate, as they do in having Ulysses, the protected of Athene, for foe and rival.

It is on these circumstances, among others, that the connexion in subject of the two paintings will be found to depend.

The position of Ulysses, as vindicator of the claims of piety, is still further strengthened by the representation of the performance of a pious office—the burial of a slain enemy, by Sinon, his friend or associate. So Sinon is called by Pausanias,

and I do not doubt on sufficient authority, though he does not tarry to produce it. It will be remembered that it is to the piety of Ulysses that Ajax Telamon owes his burial, in the play of Sophocles. Correspondent to the group of Sinon, &c., is Epeius, engaged in levelling the Trojan wall: his naked body is expressive of eagerness in his occupation, the spirit of which seems intended to contrast with that of Sinon, and Epeius has but a bad name in legend. The prominence given to him here has an additional motive in local allusion, as he is called by Euripides, a Parnassian Phocian. Epeius constructed the Trojan horse which is seen above the wall he destroys; I prefer an arrangement, however, which brings it into closer relation to Ulysses, as due to his importance in the picture, and to the consideration that he gained his title *πολίπορος*, from his conduct as captain of the desperate ambush.

The division of the picture at this point is clearly marked by the coincidence of the Trojan wall commencing just above the termination of the shore in the lower part of the picture. At the same time, the prolongation of the wall to the left would obviate the liability of what was intended as a pause becoming a break—the transition an interruption.

The energetic exertion of the stark Epeius admirably relieves the otherwise tame sequence of the listening groups of Greek chiefs, and the groups of mourning captives; and the misery of the latter, it appears to me, could scarcely be set forth with any circumstance of greater aggravation than the triumphant and fierce destruction, close beside them, of the bulwarks that for so many years had faithfully protected them and deferred the day of servitude, now come at last.

The assistance derivable from the *Troades* of Euripides, as illustrative of this painting, has been underrated or forgotten. The play, doubtless, is comparatively late; but the sources of the poet and the painter were the same; and who can doubt the familiarity with the pictures of the Lesche, of the author of *Ion*? The point of time in play and picture, is about the same—the prepara-

tion for the embarkation of the Greeks. The commencement of the dramatic action, is the expression of divine anger, through the mouths of Poseidon and Athene, at the excesses and impieties of the Greeks in their victory; the profanations of sacred places with slaughter (14—16), especially that of Priam; the sacrifice of Polyxena; the unhallowed intercourse of Agamemnon with Cassandra, bride of Apollo; and especially the impunity of Oïlean Ajax,—in requital of all which the goddess threatens destruction and disaster. On the other hand, the pitiable reverse of the captive Trojan princesses and women, who form the chorus and give name to the play, is exhibited most touchingly, and might well engage the sympathies of even a hostile audience. The same appeal to compassionate sentiment—the same exhibition of lamentable reverse of fortune—the same illustration, and by the same instances, of the perils of over-elation in the hour of victory, and of the divine jealousy of such excesses,—all are set forth as effectively in the picture as in the play; and thus they concur in what Aristotle defined as the aim and tendency of tragic art; purification of the heart by the excitement of the sentiments of awe and pity.

Pity for the Trojan women is enhanced by Polygnotus, as by Euripides, by contrast with the splendour and power of Helen, the original cause of both Greek and Trojan disaster; but we shall see how Polygnotus relieves the painfulness of the contrast, and casts a warm glow over the reappearance in the Greek camp of the wife of Menelaus, which redeems her in our sympathies.

A coincidence more general, but quite as remarkable, is observable between the conception of the picture and that of the occasion it refers to, as set forth in a speech of Clytemnestra, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus; here we find the contrast between the state of victors and vanquished in Troy described in lively images; and especially is declared the danger the Greeks would encounter on their homeward voyage, in case they failed in respect to the gods of the captured city and their consecrated

precincts, and gave way in the hour of triumph to irregular passion. (*Agamem.*, v. 320.)

The two upper groups of female captives, each of four figures, were no doubt varied in composition, and this would be facilitated by the upper group being distributed about a couch. The names assigned to them do not mark out any as of special interest: they answer to the chorus of the play; and the more direct appeal to our feelings is concentrated on the group at the bottom of the picture. Here, immersed in grief, we find the widow of Hector with his orphan son, Polyxena, and Medesicaste, one of the illegitimate daughters of Priam. These, with the exception of the last, are not selected without a design to continue the course of associations set in motion by other groups. Andromache, in the division of spoil, was allotted to Neoptolemus; Astyanax he threw headlong from a tower—the independent act of his own sanguinary impulses, according to Leschæus; and Polyxena was doomed by him to be sacrificed at the tomb of his father.

So, again, Helenus, who is grouped with the wounded Greeks, had intimate relations to Neoptolemus: he was the adviser of his settlement in Epirus, the guardian of his children, and the husband of Andromache after his death at Delphi.

The wounded Greeks express the fierceness of the contest in the night battle, but the painter avoids including in the list any of the more distinguished chiefs; those that he gives were perhaps selected on grounds of local relations to Delphi, not now traceable in detail. Meges is of Dulichion, Lycomedes is a comrade of Oilean or Locrian Ajax, and Euryalus is a comrade of Diomedes, the colonist of Southern Italy. The proximity of this group to Helen brings before us in forcible connexion the cause and consequences of the war.

The action of the child, in touching the breast of Andromache, may receive its most natural interpretation, notwithstanding the circumstance, not necessarily inconsistent, that it is standing before her. A like detail is described by Euripides

(*Troad.*, v. 570), who evidently follows either Polygnotus or a common source in tradition, in thus heightening the expression of the tie of maternity so soon to be ruthlessly torn asunder.

The representation of the camp of the Greeks by a couple of tents—their fleet by a single ship—is quite in accordance with those principles of graphic shorthand which rule so conspicuously throughout the picture. Such principles necessarily rule in all painting, as all dramas necessarily violate to large extent the literal unities of place and time. The amount of demand which is made in either case by the artist is proportioned to his sense of the indulgence he requires or can requite; the requital is ever so carried through by artists of the stamp of the Thasian, that obligation for, and admiration at, the result leaves no remembrance of the conditions as concessions to weakness or limits of capability.

By selecting for representation the ship and tent of Menelaus, Polygnotus obtains the most significant type of the success of the expedition in the recovery of Helen, and an opportunity for his art in the display of her beauty. Besides this, he gains occasion for the episode of Æthra, which has a significance relatively to the general scope of the picture, no less distinct than that of the departure of Menelaus.

Nestor, by his position on the shore, averse from the scenes both of Neoptolemus and Ajax, by the travellers' *pileus* that he wears, and his impatience typified in that of the horse which belongs to him as Γεράνιος ἰππότα, and Menelaus, by the preparations going on at his ship and tent, are marked as the Greeks most eager for departure; and it was impossible that to an ancient Greek, familiar as with household words with the traditions of Homeric poetry, that these departures, thus instantly afoot, should not deepen to his mind's eye that hovering cloud of disaster that gathers above the fierce and ill-advised transactions of the Acropolis. Nestor, we read in the *Odyssey*, was the first to sail away, presaging the divine anger that impended (iii. 165); and he was soon joined by Menelaus.

The Homeric record is decisively appealed to by the special introduction of the steersman, Phrontis, the son of Onetor, who, it is related in the same book, died suddenly on the homeward voyage, slain by the mild arrows of Apollo, and was buried by Menelaus at Sunium.

The allusions to Apollo and to Sunium were doubtless welcome to the painter, Attic by sympathy if not adoption, and employed upon a Delphic work. I suspect that the Attic allusion reached further, and that the grave of the excellent steersman at the Attic promontory, Sunium, may have been connected with the naval games celebrated there at the Panathenæa (LYSIAS, *Apolog.* δωροδοκ.)—the pentaeteris probably, that Herodotus mentions (vi. 87, Βοεσκῆ's reading), a theoris sent to which was captured by the Æginetans. So games are connected with the steersman of Theseus. There seems to have been an unlucky fatality for Menelaus about this coast, for close at hand, according to some of the ancient geographers, is "Cranae's isle" (STRABO, 399).

How the tent was recognised as that of Menelaus does not appear, but the analogy of vase-paintings makes it probable that it was so inscribed. The serpent on the shield of Menelaus is considered by Pausanias to be an allusion to the omen of Aulis; but unless it was so identified by details not mentioned, I should conjecture that it was but a speaking symbol of the Spartan, a reference of which we seem to have a trace in the Homeric comparison of the hero, when he leaps forward against Paris, to a serpent startling a wanderer in the woods.

Returning to the group of heroes collected at the altar for the oath of Ajax, I would desire, in a restoration of it, that some graphic sign should be given of the future fatal assignment of Cassandra to Agamemnon, but by no means in such a way as to favour that form of the legend of the prosecution of Ajax, that interpreted it as a trick of Ulysses to further the designs of the king of men. The maiden prostrate by the altar brings also vividly to mind, the sacrifice by Agamemnon of his

daughter Iphigenia, from which the chorus of Æschylus derives such evil bodings; and the tragedian's description of the loveliness of the victim at the fatal scene, "fair as in the paintings," must have brought the group of Polygnotus to the mind of many of the audience—perhaps was suggested by it to his own. The ancient design adapted by Riepenhausen, has been referred by various interpreters to both Iphigenia and Cassandra.

In the introduction into the group of Akamas, the son of Theseus, we have an evident trace of the Athenian sympathies of the painter. Akamas, who wears a helmet plumed, is grouped with Polypætēs, the son of his father's friend, Pirithous. The hair of Polypætēs is bound with a *tænia*, but why or whether for any special reason is not apparent.

The sons of friends were probably grouped as friends, and this suggestion of the finer affections is a link by which the sentiment of the main group is attached to that which we have still to examine, and of which Helen is the centre.

According to the story, when Troy was sacked, the sons of Theseus, Akamas and Demophon, found their mother, Æthra, the slave of Helen; so she is introduced in the *Iliad*, and other authorities tell that when the Dioscuri rescued their sister from Theseus, they carried off Æthra to Sparta, and thence and thus she followed her mistress to Troy. Her grandsons solicited her release from Agamemnon, who favoured their request, but referred them to the free determination of Helen, to whom, however, he applied on the subject by a herald. This is the action that is in progress in the picture: Demophon awaits with his mother, the answer of Helen; but it is surprising to find that the herald who is near Helen, is the herald, not of Agamemnon, as the reference to Lescheus would lead us to expect, but Eurybates, the name given by Homer to the herald of Ulysses. Polygnotus, it is true, painted Eurybates beardless, at variance with the portrait that Ulysses himself gives of him at an earlier date. But this detailed portrait is one that, characteristic as it is, a painter might well be unwilling to

reproduce in immediate proximity to the glorious beauty of Helen; and, indeed, it would be ominous of little good fortune for his mission. Polygnotus, therefore, had a motive for introducing Eurybates, though in circumstances that compelled him to be false to the Homeric portrait. In fact, he represents by this means the intercession with Helen in favour of Æthra to be the act of Ulysses—not of Agamemnon; and thus here, by the agency of his herald, as elsewhere by that of Sinon, his friend, the presence and influence of Ulysses are multiplied, and in every case for the behoof of piety, moderation, and mercy. This point, however, must not be pressed too far, as in the first book of the *Iliad*, Eurybates accompanies Talthybius to the tent of Achilles, in obedience to the command of Agamemnon.

A further difficulty has been naturally found in the circumstance that Eurybates is seated by Helen, and, it may be inferred from Pausanias, in conversation with her; yet such a position has seemed scarcely in consistency with a herald's zealous execution of a message of which the result is eagerly awaited. The difficulty so far is real, but would only be aggravated were we restricted to the solutions of it that have been offered hitherto—yet an easy solution is near at hand.

Helen, the story as delivered by Lescheus pursues, granted the suit, and not only released Æthra, but even loaded her richly with presents. For the first time, then, we now obtain a consistent explanation of another difficulty, as great, and it would seem it should have been as obvious, as those we have just mentioned. For what purpose, it might have been asked, are Echoiax and Ithæmenes bringing king's stores out of the vessel at the very time that the tent is being struck, and all is preparing for instant clearing out of port? The stores thus on previous theories inopportunately unshipped, are, in reality, the presents destined by Helen for Æthra; she has sent for them, and while they come, the graciousness of the daughter of Jove receives the most expressive enhancement by her consideration

for the herald: these were heroic days. Eurybates sits in the presence, awaiting the gifts, which he is to take back with welcome tidings; and the delay that thus occurs explains the painful degree to which the anxiety of Demophon has risen.

The toilet of Helen is a frequent subject on monuments, especially on Etruscan specula; and it is noteworthy that Euripides assigns to her a golden speculum (*Troad.*, v. 1107), and in some representations she holds one in her hand. There is allusion to her approaching departure in the particular service of her attendant—putting on her shoe. Briseis, Diomedes, and Iphigeneia, favourites and fairest among the captives of Achilles and Patroclus, were painted regarding the beauty of the cause of their misfortunes, and I doubt not that it was not least in the expressions of their countenances, that the ethic art of Polygnotus was displayed. The phrase of Pausanias implies that they had the air of looking with eyes of curiosity (of reconnoitring) on the world's wonder,—with what mixture of other feelings in their expression of admiration or of wonder, is now futile to inquire.

In turning to the incident at the other extremity of the picture, that in some respects is so distinctly parallel, we recognise first that pragmatistical connexion by which the artist has provided for the more close combination of his independent groups. Some legends told that Antenor quitted the Trojan shore in company with Menelaus (PINDAR). Mournful, again, as the group is, and could not but be,—for thus it is that it harmoniously ensues on the field of dead around: at least the family is safe, and the panther-skin hangs over the door of the house—symbol of a respected contract; and thus is secured one more relieving reminiscence, another saving trait to secure our continued sympathy—errors and excesses of some of the confederation notwithstanding, with the general cause of Greece.

It is not to be denied that there is a certain flatness in the concluding groups of this picture, but the restorers, who have



The figures and groups after Hagenhausen, re-arranged by W. Watkiss. 1874.

THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS, IN THE LESCHE AT DELPHI.

I.—THE PAINTING ON THE RIGHT HAND.
 TROY CAPTURED AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE GREEKS.

Day 8. 1874. 5. 1. 1.

crowded supernumeraries round the unhappy ass,—I have omitted two, have only enhanced incongruity by making the bulk and body of the groups exceed their significance—an error unknown to the Greeks: there is not story and variety of passion enough in the anecdote of Antenor to make it an equipoise to that of Helen, and it was not intended to be so. The picture is divided into two parts, and it is at the commencement of each that the most stirring incident of each, finds place—Helen and Æthra, Neoptolemus and his victims. The groups of captives balance those of the slain, and the ass with the servants concludes the second series as Nestor and his horse the first. The weighty subject of the outrage on Cassandra connects the two and gives a nervous centre to the branching organism. The depression and departure of Antenor do not satisfy the antithesis they suggest to the busy embarkation at the opposite extremity; but a certain lack of cadence and emphasis at the conclusion, is the very means of indicating that a sequel is yet to be expected: we shall find it in the second painting, in which the subject as well as grouping of the first, receive the contrast and completion they prepare for and require.

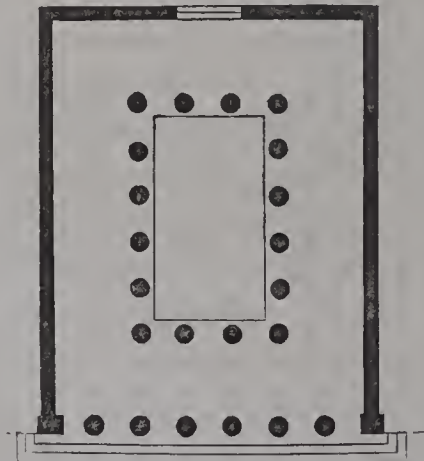
WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.

VII.

ON THE PLAN AND DISPOSITION OF THE
GREEK LESCHE.

WE cannot allow the subject of the foregoing paper to pass by, without adding a few remarks on the nature and form of the Greek *Lesche*: more especially as it is our object to connect together as much as possible, and to study simultaneously, the several branches of the fine arts; being actuated by the conviction that we cannot study any one of the sister arts, without learning somewhat that may be applicable to the others, and that we cannot render ourselves truly proficient in the knowledge and practice of any one, unless we endeavour to perfect ourselves in the principles of the rest.

In the work by *Fr. and Joh. Riepenhausen*,* to whose admirable restorations we are indebted for the illustrations of the preceding paper, (the grouping only of the figures being altered



* *Erläuterung des Polygnotischen Gemahldes auf der rechten seite der Lesche zu Delphi*, 4to, Göttingen, 1805.

by Mr. Lloyd,) we find a ground plan which these brothers imagined might have been the arrangement of the Lesche at Delphi, referred to by Pausanias.

They have represented it as an oblong court, the longer sides of which were appropriated to the paintings, and the front ornamented with an open portico.*

From the very general application of this word, frequently to buildings which had been erected for other purposes, it is uncertain whether any edifices were raised with the sole object of being a place for lounging and conversation, and whether such edifices had any distinct peculiar form. Certain it is, that no buildings in all Greece are preserved to us of this nature, although we are informed that at one time they were of so extensive an use, that in the city of Athens alone there existed no less than 360. (PROCLES, *in Hesiod*, 493.)

But, as it is possible that buildings may have been expressly constructed and set apart for such a destination, and as one of the most striking excellencies of Grecian architecture was the appropriateness of each building to its specific purpose, and as the descriptions of some of these buildings do appear to correspond together, so we should endeavour to ascertain what form of arrangement will best combine to answer the various requirements of such a building.

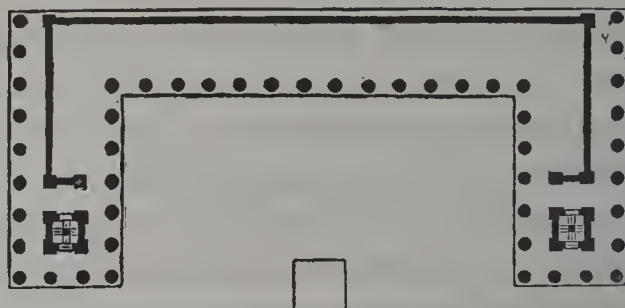
The first particular we have of the Greek Lesche is, that it was a building *without doors*. (HOM. *Odys.* Σ, and EUSTATHIUS.) In this respect, the plan before us is consistent, for, although it is closed by a portico in front, it has no doors.

A modern building, which has much of this character, is the *Ruhmeshalle*, or Hall of Renown, at Munich. It has† nine columns at the flanks, and seven inside. The columns are 4 ft. 1½ in. diameter, English measure. We have here a building

* This opinion was also advocated by CTE. CAYLUS, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tome xxvii.

† As rightly conjectured by the editor of the *Builder* (vol. viii. p. 517).

of important dimensions, and decorated with paintings, but having neither door nor chamber.



From Hesiod (*Op. et Dies*, 493) we learn that it was *warm*, and that in winter time any close warm room, to which people resorted, constituted a *Lesche*. From this passage Siebelis conjectures that the *Lesche* was not ἀνυρωτος, but closed in on every side. This, however, does by no means follow: for the building might have been of any form, and opened or closed indifferently, provided it was warm. Riepenhausen's plan is here defective; for notwithstanding it is protected from winds by walls on three sides, the narrowness of the hypæthros would prevent its receiving much warmth from the sun.

Another objection to this plan is that it consists of three walls, only two of which were decorated with paintings. The authors felt this difficulty, and pierced the end wall with a window, through which they imagined a view might be desired of the adjacent buildings.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain whether any other form of edifice will be less open to these objections, and whether it will answer to the various other particulars which we have of such buildings.

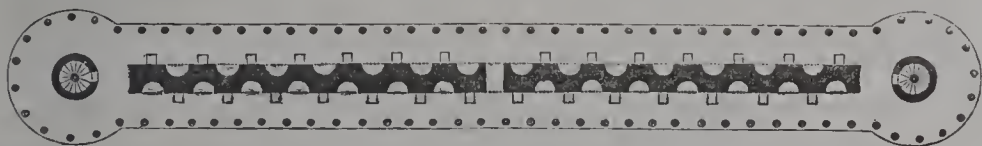
The most general, and indeed as its name denotes, the most apparent destination of these buildings was for the purposes of *conversation*. From Plutarch (*Quæ. Græc.* and *Vit. Lycurg.*, 24) it appears to be a place of assembly and conversation. From *Ei apud Delphos*, and from Suidas,—a place for disputing on scientific and philosophical subjects. From Proclus, it seems to have been devoted to any profitable conversation.

Poems were recited in them, and even Homer is said to have sung his verses in the *Lesche* of Cyma. (HEROD. *in Vita Hom.*) From Eustathius, Proclus, and Moschopulus, we may gather that they were frequently diverted from these intellectual occupations to idle gossiping and chatting. Pausanias, in his description of this at Delphi, says they were used for idle and serious conversation.

Antiphon, again, (*in Orat. cont. Nicoclem*,) calls the *Lesche* a place for *lounging*; Harpocraton, a place for idle people; while Homer, Hesiod, and their commentators, make it a place of resort for beggars.*

From these several authorities, it would appear that the *Lesche* was provided with ample seats, (see also SUIDAS, s. v.,) which might be placed in recesses, called *Exhedræ*. Another feature of the *Lesche* was probably a long ambulatory or colonnade, for the philosophers to exercise and enjoy themselves in.

From these considerations, the following plan has been projected—



consisting of a long continuous portico, open all round, and having merely a single wall in the middle, in the thickness of which, seats or *exhedræ* are contrived, at sufficient distance apart to preserve their privacy, and separated from each other by statues.

Exhedræ, disposed in this manner, may be seen in the *Hecatonstylon*, or portico of a hundred columns, attached to the Theatre of Pompey, the plan of which is preserved to us in

* Casaubon (*Annot. ad Strab.*, p. 396) supposes the *Lesche* to be identical with the *Odeion*; but this idea has been refuted by Martini, (*Abhandlung von den Odeen der Alten*). *Æschylus* and *Sophocles* frequently employ the term to signify a place of judgment; and from a passage in *Athenæus*, (iv. 139 *c*.) we may assume that even the *Triclinium* was sometimes called a *Lesche*.

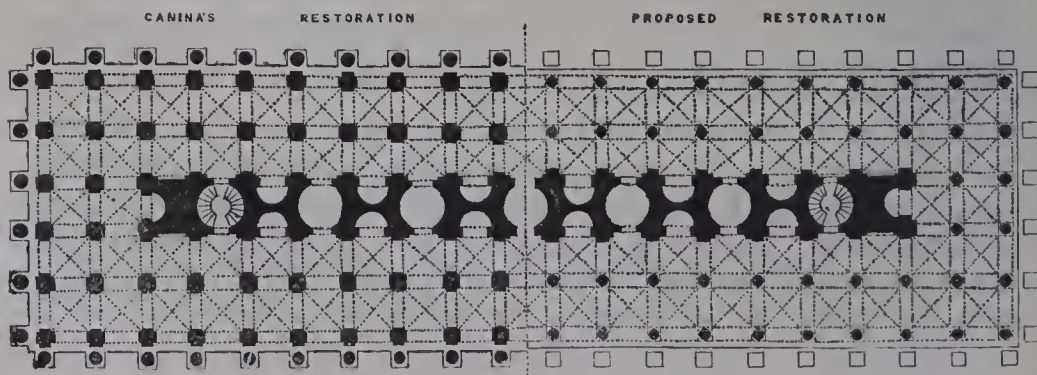
the marble plan of Rome. It has a single portico on the north side, and a double one on the south, in order to produce a greater shade. The small circles inscribed in squares probably represent statues.



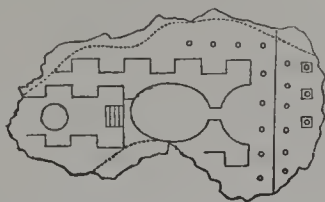
These vast niches, ornamented with columns, recal to mind the Basilica of Constantine, the deep exhedrae of which are now used as a Lesche by the modern Roman beggar:

Hence to the Lesche, from the midnight air,
Or some black forge, the vagrant's haunt, repair.

A building which assimilates to the foregoing is the Portico of Philip at Rome—a colonnade attached to the Theatre of Balbus. It is restored by Canina, (*Pianta Topog. di Roma Ant.*) partly from actual remains at Santa Maria in Cacaberis, and partly from a fragment of the marble plan of Rome. It is represented as 500 feet in length.



Taking the principle of his design as correct, as being founded on actual remains, it seems probable, from the fragment of



the plan of Rome,* that the pilasters represented in the Cav. Canina's plan should be columns, and that the columns should be statues, as shown in our amended plan.

Here the objection will be made, that such a building does not correspond with the οἶκον of Pausanias. On entering the doorway, say his commentators, you saw on the right wall one painting, and another facing it on the left wall. But Pausanias neither designates a door, nor does he describe one painting as facing the other, but simply says—When you shall have entered the building, you will see the following picture on your right hand and the other part of the picture which is on the left hand, &c.

In such a building as we have represented, the spectator is supposed to enter at one end; and he would then find one picture on the right hand side of the wall, and another on the left.

It will here be further objected, that Plutarch tells us that such buildings were provided with doors, (*De Orac. Defec.*,

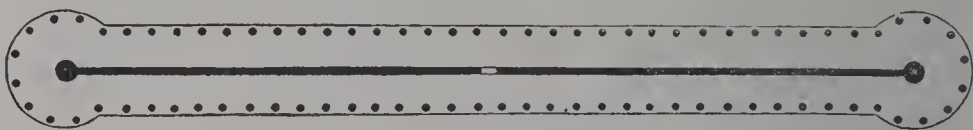
* The strong outline is from Canina, the dotted line from Bellori. (*Frag. Vest. Vet. Rom.*) If the former be correct, there ought to be another column on the top line. The outer row on right hand side has seven columns in Bellori, instead of six. In Canina's restoration of this monument, (*Arch. Rom.*, Pl. cviii. No 44,) he represents twenty columns in length; but in his enlarged plan (Pl. cxi.) he gives only fourteen columns, and etches in darker lines, instead of the part here shown, a portion in the centre of the plan as the existing fragment of the marble plan.

Where so little reliance can be placed on the fidelity of these plans, it would be of high importance if the Trustees of the British Museum would obtain plaster casts of all the tablets containing the fragments of the marble plan of Rome, now in the Campidoglio, and have them inserted as ornaments in the walls of our Museum.

vii. 625): in answer to which we might adduce the before-mentioned passage from Eustathius, showing it was without doors: but these may very readily be allowed, by imagining that the intercolumniations were closed in with a low wall—*pluteum*,—or by ornamental *transennæ*, and that it is to the door of this enclosure that Pliny refers.

In corroboration of this arrangement of plan, we find two buildings in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli projected on a similar principle, but without exhedræ: one of them appears to have had remains of paintings, for it is called the Pæcile. They are given below, from the *Pianta della Villa Adriana* by PIRANESI.

The principal one is at the northern end of the villa, and measures 970 Roman palms, or 710 English feet;



the other is beyond the Odeon, and measures 650 Roman palms, or 476 English feet.



They each consist of a long wall, perforated by a door in the centre, and surrounded by a continuous portico, the columns of which no longer exist.

If it were to such a door that Pausanias referred, the paintings would be on the same side of the wall, and divided only by the door. But this does not appear so probable as the former supposition, of the entrance being at one end.

Warmth, as we have seen, was an essential condition of the Lesche, but we have not determined how such warmth was obtained. Now we find that two authors expressly tell us, not merely that the Lesche was warm, but that it was *sunny*, (PROCLUS *in Hes.*, and CALLIMACHUS, *Ep.* ii. 3); which is in perfect accordance with those other passages, where we find

they were especially resorted to by old men, (PLUTARCH *in Lycurg.*, 119; and ÆLIAN, ii. 34), *aprici senes*, who loved its genial warmth, and could take their gentle exercise in its porticoes, or enjoy quiet and repose on the ample seats.

It is extremely interesting, in this respect, to find that the two porticoes in Hadrian's Villa face north and south; but we have other instances of this arrangement, which would be of the greatest necessity in these climates, where the winters were sometimes severe and cold, and the summers always oppressive; and where one would need as much the cool shade of the northern portico, as the genial warmth of the southern side.

The Lesche appears to have been generally painted, and therefore frequently called Pœcile, or *enriched with a variety of ornaments*, such as paintings. The latter building appears to have consisted of a stoa, or portico, which would naturally be suitable to the purposes of a Lesche, so that we may conceive that these buildings were frequently identical. Pausanias informs us that the Lesche at Delphi was decorated with pictures, and that the Stoa at Athens (i. 15), and one at Elis (v. 21), were called Pœcile, because decorated with paintings; and that one of the two Lesche at Sparta was also called Pœcile, for the same reason, (iii. 14, 15). Lastly, the portico in Hadrian's Villa, which we have taken as the type of the Greek Lesche, is called the Pœcile, and we know that the Pœcile was among the buildings executed at Tivoli by the Emperor Hadrian.

If this be admitted, we shall find the following further corroboration of our plan. In the description by Pausanias (vi. 24) of the Coreyrean Portico at Elis, (so called, because raised from the tenth of the spoils taken from the Coreyreans,) we read—"It was built in the Doric style: it had a double row of columns, one of which looked toward the Agora, and the other row was separated from it by a long wall." In like manner, the portico at the Piræus is described as a *long* portico, (i. 1).

All these buildings, of which we have any particulars on the

subject, faced north and south; the two porticoes in Hadrian's Villa, as already noted, were so directed; the Corcyrean Portico at Elis was so placed, and the sunny side was that next the Agora; and the Long Portico at the Piræus presented its southern aspect, so as to enjoy the sea view.

Another important circumstance connected with these buildings is, that with the exception of the Lesche at Delphi, which had a painting on each side of the wall, all the other instances referred to by Pausanias had but one painting, or one wall decorated with paintings; which, if we may judge from the Long Portico at the Piræus, was executed on the southern or principal side. Thus, although Pausanias describes at length the paintings in the Pœcile at Athens, painted by Polygnotus, Micon, &c., in a portico at Athens painted by Euphranor (i. 3), and in the Long Portico of the Piræus painted by Leochares, he describes only the painting or paintings on one wall in each of these edifices.

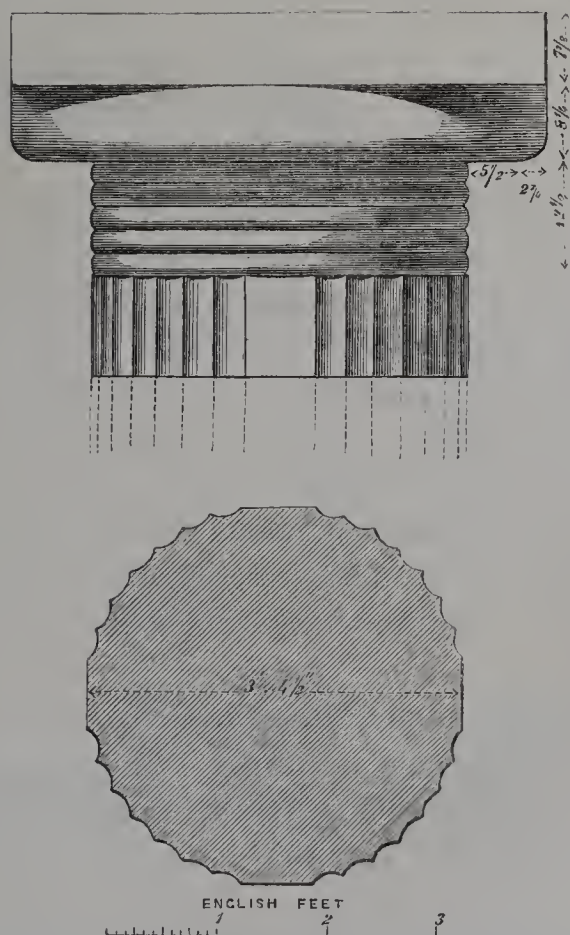
We have seen that these buildings were called indifferently by various names, and we find that the Stoa at Elis, called Pœcile, was also called *Echo*, (v. 21). This circumstance, unimportant as it seems, would appear to indicate that the building was of the form which we have attributed to the Lesche, the long wall of which probably faced a lofty rock, and thus produced the seven-fold echo, as we frequently find effected by the perpendicular cliffs of some river-gorge.

It is probable that all these buildings were ornamented with statues. The Corcyrean Portico had statues on each side of the wall; and Pausanias incidentally notices certain statues in the Royal Portico at Athens (i. 3), in the Pœcile of that city, and in the Pœcile at Elis. Among other decorations, the Pœcile at Athens was ornamented with shields and other spoils.

ED.

NOTE.—The effect of these buildings must have been very similar to Schinkel's splendid façade of the Museum at Berlin.

VIII.

ON SOME EGYPTIAN-DORIC COLUMNS IN THE
SOUTHERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK.*

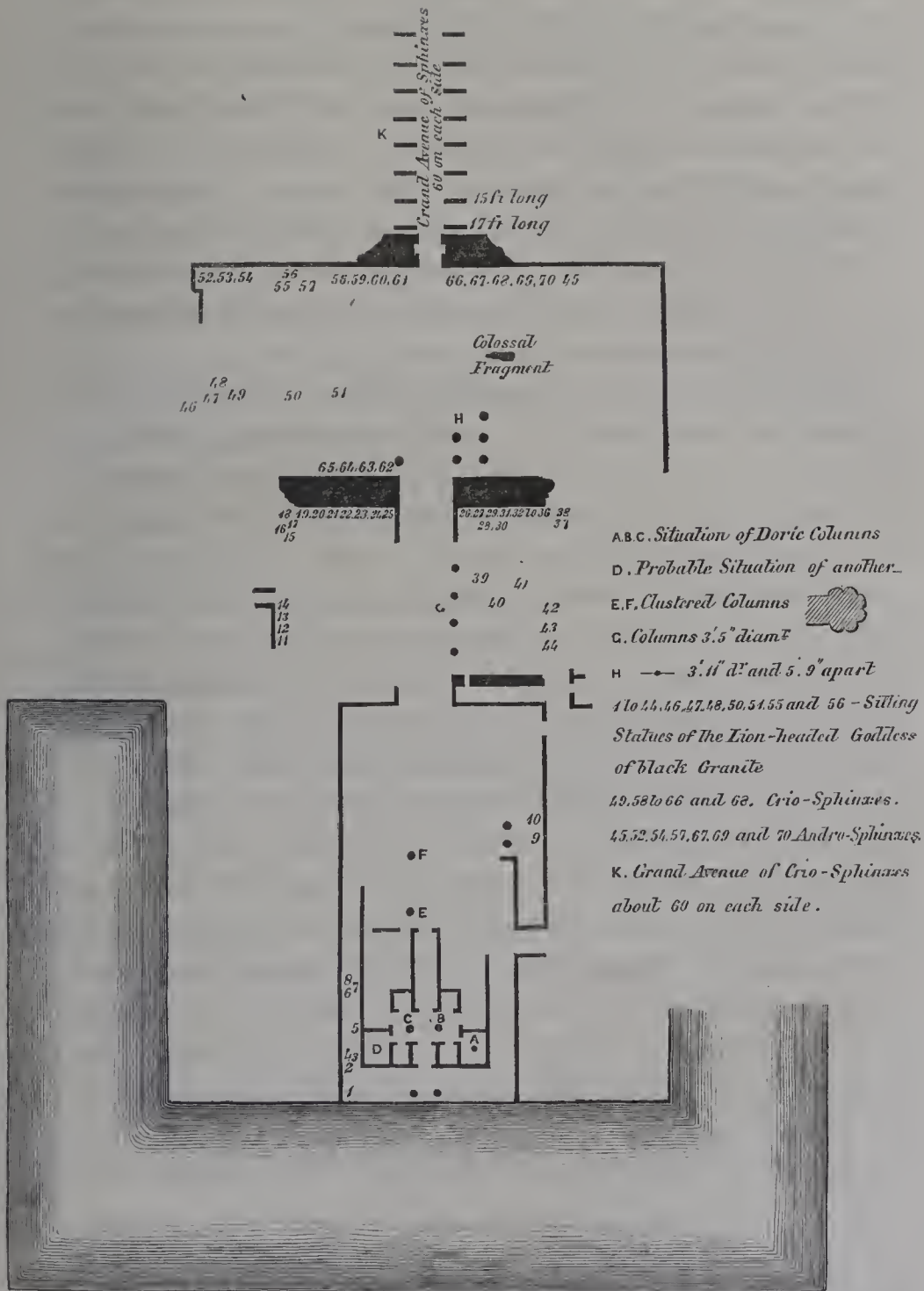
* Extracted from a communication to the Royal Institute of British Architects, in the Session of 1849-50.

IN a Dissertation by Dr. Lepsius, *Sur les Colonnes Piliers*, that distinguished antiquary has brought forward notices of numerous polygonal and fluted columns in Egypt. Of these, those which approach nearest to the Doric order were the columns of a tomb at Beni-Hassan, and of a temple at Kalabshe, the shafts of which are ornamented with twenty flutes, and on these shafts is placed the abacus, without the intervention of any echinus or other moulding.

This trifling resemblance to the orders of Grecian architecture has caused many to assert that they see no affinity between such pillars and the Doric column, and that they cannot believe that one could possibly have been derived from the other.

In the Southern Temple at Karnak, however, which is represented in the accompanying plan, I discovered three columns which I believe have hitherto been unobserved, probably on account of the ruined state of the temple. Here, in addition to the fluted shaft and square abacus, we have a bold echinus and a beaded hypotrachelion, thus possessing all the characteristics of Doric columns, in conjunction with the evidences of Egyptian style. As these columns may assist in determining whether any and what grounds exist for attributing the origin of the Doric order to Egypt, I venture to offer the following particulars on the subject.

The Temple containing these three columns is on the south side of the great temple at Karnak. It is joined to it by a noble avenue of crio-sphinxes, each of which measures from fifteen to seventeen feet long, thus being the grandest avenue in all Egypt. There have been at least sixty sphinxes on each side, about one-half of which number are remaining. This avenue terminates with five detached pylons, which, with the sphinxes, clearly point out the once important character of this small and ruined temple. It is surrounded by a brick enclosure,



E. F. FEB 13, 1843

PLAN OF THE SOUTHERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK

containing an area of 775 by 1200 feet. A spacious reservoir of water runs round three sides. The interior, in its present state, forms a museum of Egyptian sphinxes, containing no less than fifty-one statues of a lion-headed goddess in black basalt, ten crio-sphinxes, and eight andro-sphinxes. The Temple is greatly ruined, so much so as to attract but little notice. The columns are all fallen, but their position may be clearly determined at A, B, and C. It is probable that another similar column existed at D. Their peculiarities, as compared with other columns in Egypt of this description, I now proceed to show.

At Kalabshe, about seventy-five miles above the first cataract, are two columns of a similar character to those here represented. We find in each of these a square abacus, a cylindrical neck, and a fluted shaft divided into four parts by wide fillets facing the four fronts. Those at Kalabshe have twenty flutes, and four wide fillets covered with hieroglyphics: those represented in the accompanying wood-cut have twenty-eight flutes and four such fillets. The flutings of both are elliptical: those of Kalabshe are only a quarter of an inch in depth; the flutes of the columns at Beni-Hassan are also shallow, and twenty in number; whereas those at Thebes are much more pronounced, being half an inch deep by three and a half in width.* The abacus of the columns at Beni-Hassan reposes directly on the fluted shaft; but at Kalabshe it is joined to it by a circular necking. The columns at Thebes approach more nearly to the Grecian-Doric in this respect, the abacus being separated from the necking by a bold ovolo. Another peculiarity of this capital is the necking, which is divided into five astragals: this is a certain indication of Egyptian origin. We find the same number of five astragals in the neckings of the columns of all

* The temple at Esuch (Latopolis) exhibits a peculiarity in this respect; the columns of which, though purely Egyptian, have the shafts formed polygonally, and divided into vertical compartments, each of which is filled in with a perpendicular inscription, giving very much the appearance of a fluted column; and it is singular that at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, the Doric columns of the Agora have the flutings likewise filled in with perpendicular inscriptions.

the principal temples of Egypt; they are generally distinguished by different colours: the first, third, and fifth being of one colour; the second and fourth of another. They represent the cords with which the prototypal reed columns were bound together. May not the annulets of the Greek and Roman Doric capitals have been derived from this member? The capital which I measured was perfect only to eleven and a half inches below the necking. I am, therefore, unable to say whether the column had any, and what, diminution or entasis.

The examples of polygonal or fluted columns in Egypt are by no means rare. At Beni-Hassan there are six such columns in one tomb, and two in another, all of which are well known; in the tomb at Kalabche there are two columns; in the temple at Semneh, a day and a half's journey from *Wadi-Halfa* (the second cataract), on the right bank of the Nile, there are three such columns; at Amada, in Nubia, there are four. In the great temple at Karnak there are three columns in the part called the Sanctuary, and four in the last chamber, behind the great hall. All these columns are fluted, with the exception of the four last described, which are polygonal; and they have all been observed by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, Dr. Lepsius, and other travellers. In addition to these are the three columns now described. We thus have twenty-seven columns from eight different monuments, separated from each other by a vast extent of country; which will therefore be sufficient to prove the general employment of such columns at some given period of time.

It will be remarked that the polygonal columns are generally octangular, though sometimes of sixteen sides: that the columns of Beni-Hassan, and of the great temple at Karnak, are of sixteen flutes, while these here referred to have thirty-two flutes, including the four fascia: and this circumstance is interesting, as showing their gradual development from the square pier, the corners of which were first taken off, reducing it to an octagon, and this by the like process was brought to a polygon of sixteen or thirty-two sides; and it is interesting to find that the

columns at Segeste, Ægina, Sunium, Pæstum, and a temple at Syracuse, as observed by Dr. Lepsius, have, in like manner, sixteen flutes.

We are enabled to determine the age of these columns with tolerable certainty. Mr. Birch informs me, that the hieroglyphics on the columns of the tombs at Beni-Hassan show that they were executed in the twelfth dynasty, during the reign of Osortasen I., or 1800 B.C. The portion of the temple at Thebes, in which the columns have been observed by former travellers, also bears the date of Osortasen I. The temples at Amada and Samneh, and the southern temple at Karnak, shown in the accompanying plan, all bear the names of Thothmes III. and Amunoph II. which gives us an antiquity of a period at least 1400 B.C. Lastly, the temple at Kalabche has the cartouche of Rameses II. on its abacus, thus proving it to be at least 1200 B.C. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson and Dr. Lepsius are both of opinion, that many of these examples bear date from a still earlier epoch. Those of Kalabshe and Samneh we know to have been executed at the times stated, from the circumstance of the cartouches forming part of the original decoration; but at Amada the columns are fluted all round, without the intervention of any fascia, and it is therefore probable, that these columns were not intended to bear any hieroglyphics; and the cartouches of Thothmes II. and Amunoph II., which occur in two of the flutes, appear as though they had been executed posterior to their erection. Those in the great temple at Thebes, and those at Samneh, are even considered to have formed part of more ancient structures.

But though we are able to prove the high antiquity of these columns, there is no example of the ordinary Egyptian column of a greater antiquity than 1400 B.C., and it therefore appears evident that the octagonal, polygonal, and the fluted columns, were constantly employed throughout Egypt and Nubia from the earliest epochs to the year 1400 B.C., after which period we find no further trace of their employment.

EDWARD FALKENER.

IX.

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.*

I.

Notices on Art and Antiquity contained in the late Classical Museum, 1844—1850.

Acanthus, Acanthion, &c.—On the use of the terms—in the ancient Classics.

By JAMES YATES, iii. 1

Antiquity. The Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary and the Greek Lexicon, forming a Glossary of all the words representing visible objects connected with the Arts, Manufactures, and every-day Life of the Greeks and Romans. By Anthony Rich, jun. *Notice of*, vii. 324

Arabia—Ptolemy's Knowledge of— By Dr. W. PLATE, iii. 167

Armenia. See *Asia Minor*.

Art. Ancient Art and its Remains, by C. O. Müller: or a Manual of the Archæology of Art. Translated from the German, by John Leitch. 8vo.

L. 1847 *Notice of*, v. 366

Asia Minor. Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia. By W. F. Ainsworth, A.M. 2 vols. 8vo. L. 1842. *Notice of*, i. 131

Athens—Notice of Excavations at i. 136

——— See *Parthenon*.

——— Topography of—with some Remarks on its Antiquities—By Colonel Leake *Notice of*, i. 41

Baalbec, Palmyra, and the extreme North-Eastern Bounds of the Land assigned to the Israelites. By Rev. W. EWING, iii. 135

Chaldea. See *Asia Minor*.

Cyclopean Remains. See *Italy*.

Delphi—Excavations at—By K. O. MÜLLER i. 136

Egypt of Herodotus; with Notes and Preliminary Dissertations. By John Kenrick. 8vo. L. 1841 *Notice of*, iv. 135

——— A Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai. By R. Lepsius. Translated by C. H. Cottrell, Esq. L. 1846 *Notice of*—By *W.*, v. 120

Etruria. On an Etruscan City recently discovered, and probably the Vetulonia of Antiquity. By GEORGE DENNIS, ii. 229

Etruscan Art. La Moneta ed i Monumenti dell' Italia Antica, messi in rapporto cronologico con quelli delle altre Nazioni civili dell' Antichità. By A. Gennarelli. Rome, 1843 *Notice of*, i. 421

* It has been suggested that a Notice of Papers on the Fine Arts of Antiquity, published in the various British and Foreign Periodicals would be desirable. We commence with the late *Classical Museum*.

- Greek Manners and Customs.* Griechinnen und Griechen. By Pauofka. Fol.
 Berlin, 1844 *Notice of*, iii. 111
 ——— Topography. By Rev. A. P. STANLEY, A.M., i. 41
Halicarnassus—On the Sculptures of the Mausoleum of— By C. NEWTON, v. 170
Herculaneum. See *Painting*.
Jerusalem—On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, with a Plan of—By George
 Finlay, Esq. *Notice of*, v. 367
Italy—On Cyclopean Remains in Central—. . . . By E. H. BUNBURY, ii. 147
Laocoon—On the Date of the—. By K. F. HERMANN, vii. 329
Mesopotamia. See *Asia Minor*.
Museum Disneianum: being a Description of a Collection of Ancient Marbles in the
 possession of John Disney, Esq. With Engravings. L. 1846. 8vo.
Notices of—By C. K. W., v. 262; vii. 71
Painting. Wandgemaelde aus Pompeji und Herculaneum, nach den Zeichnungen
 und Nachbildung in Farben, von Wilh. Ternite. Mit einem erläuternden Text,
 von Prof. Welcker *Notice of*—By C. G. S., iii. 448
 ——— Some Account of Greek and Roman Portraits. By R. N. WORNUM, iv. 47
Palmyra. See *Baalbec*.
Parthenon—The two Models of the—and the Remarks upon them. By R. C.
 Lucas, Sculptor. Salisb. 1845 *Notice of*, iii. 443
 ——— *Pediments* of the—On the Sculptured Groups in the—By Prof. F. G.
 WELCKER. Translated from the Author's MS. . . by Dr. L. SCHMITZ, ii. 367
 ——— *Western Pediment* of the—Explanation of the Groups in the—
 By W. WATKISS LLOYD, v. 396
 ——— Further Remarks on the Groups of the—
 By Prof. F. G. WELCKER, vi. 279
Pompeii. See *Painting*.
Rome. Handbuch der Roemischen Alterthuemer, nach den Quellen bearbeitet, von
 W. A. Becker, Prof. 8vo. Leip. 1844 *Notice of*, ii. 419
 ——— The *Asylum of Romulus*. By W. IHNE, iii. 190
 ——— *Excursions* from—in June, 1843. . . . By F. B. WHALLEY, A.M., i. 318
 ——— Beckeri Topographia Urbis Romæ. . . . By Prof. L. URLICHS, iii. 194
 ——— On the *Topography* of—With an Appendix on the Regionarii.
 By E. H. BUNBURY, iii. 319
 ——— II. On the Roman Forum. . . By Ditto, iv. 1
 ——— III. The Fora of the Emperors. By Ditto, iv. 117
 ——— IV. The Capitol By Ditto, iv. 427
 ——— V. The Environs of the Forum. By Ditto, v. 215
Sesostris—On the so-called Monument of—in Asia Minor. By Dr. L. SCHMITZ, i. 231
Stadium. Victory in the Horse-race. From a Painting on an Amphora.
 By SAMUEL BIRCH, vi. 296
Theatre. Was Music an Element of the Greek Chorus? By G. H. LEWES, ii. 344
 ——— On the Choral Dancing of the Greek—. . . By THOMAS DYER, iii. 229
Tusculum. Notice of Excavations at—. i. 135
Vase. The Portland Vase. By W. WATKISS LLOYD, vi. 253
Vetulonia. See *Etruria*.
Xanthian Marbles—Observations on the — By Sir EDM. HEAD, Bart., A.M., i. 222

X.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1.—A. CH. AD. ZESTERMANN. *De Basilicis. Libri Tres.* 4to. Brux. 1847.

THE descriptive portion of this work displays great care and attention. The author has studied diligently the treatises of preceding writers, and gives his own reasonings and conclusions in a clear and perspicuous manner, supporting his deductions by many passages from ancient authors, which had hitherto escaped attention.

Among other points which he endeavours to prove, Dr. Zestermann considers that the generally received opinion, that the basilica terminated with a large niche or absis, is erroneous. In the first book he treats of the Basilican-Stoa of the Athenians and other Greeks; in the second he treats of the Roman, and in the third of the Christian Basilica. Each Book is divided into several chapters, in which he enters at length into the origin, destination, and form of the several descriptions of basilicas. The work is accompanied with forty-three plans, in seven Sheets, consisting of a Plan of Athens—Plan and Elevation of the Basilican-Stoa at Athens—Restorations of the Basilica by Alberti, Palladio, Perrault, Canina, and Mariui. His own Restoration of the Roman Basilica occupies Sheet Four. The Restoration of Vitruvius's Basilica at Fano, Sheet Five. It also contains the Basilicas of Herculaneum, Pompeii, Præstum, Palmyra, Otricoli—that of Constantine and the Sicinian and Ulpian Basilicas—the Christian Basilicas of Saint Peter's in 800, Santa Maria Maggiore, and Santa Agnese—and that of Tyre, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem as described by Eusebius. Among modern Basilicas is that of Vicenza.

Several other ancient basilicas are referred to in the text, the plans of which we are unable to determine, in consequence of the state of ruin in which they now exist; as those of Nîmes, Treves, Palestrina, and Albano. From the information it gives relative to the early Christian Basilica, the work will naturally be received with interest by the *Ecclesiologist*.

The work is published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, and may be had also in German, bearing the following title:—"Die Antiken und die Christlichen Basiliken, nach ihrer Entstehung, Ausbildung und Beziehung zu einander dargestellt von A. Zestermann, Dr. Phil.

2.—ANTONIO MAGRINI, Abate. *Memorie intorno la Vita e le Opere di Andrea Palladio.* 4to. Padova, 1845. London: Rolandi, Berners Street.

ALTHOUGH Italian architecture does not properly enter into the subject of this Journal, it contains so much in common that we cannot refrain from noticing the above work, which is a very copious and complete history of the life and works of

this great architect. The author confines himself strictly to his subject, without entering into criticisms on art. Much new and interesting detail will be found here collected; and the work is followed by an Appendix, containing several uncedited letters of Palladio.

3.—C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. *Collectanea Antiqua*. J. Russell Smith.

THIS indefatigable antiquary appears to have nearly exhausted the antiquities of his native country; and is beginning to look to foreign lands. In Vol. II. we find—The Roman Villa at Hartlip, Kent—Roman Remains discovered in Essex—Roman Tessellated Pavements in Somersetshire and Hampshire—and an illustrated account of Roman Remains on the Rhine and Moselle, &c.

4.—By the same Author. *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, in Kent*. Illustrated by F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. John Russell Smith, Old Compton Street. 4to. London, 1850.

THIS work will be found to contain much interesting matter relative to the Roman dominion in Britain, the form and arrangement of their castra, and the distinctive peculiarities of Roman construction. Through the exertions of Mr. Smith, a sufficient sum was raised by subscription to defray the expenses of an excavation at the first of these places, which brought to light many antiquities which are carefully illustrated and explained in the volume. Among these are several fragments of mural paintings, which have given occasion to speak at some length on the subject of the Domestic Decoration of the Ancients. The amphitheatre of Richborough is also described, and contrasted with that of Treves.

The illustrations by Mr. Fairholt are of great elegance of execution, and the work is one of those which tend to render the study of antiquity as pleasing to the general reader as it is instructive to the learned antiquary.

5.—A. G. B. SCHAYES. *Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique*. Tome Premier. 12mo. Brux. 1850.

M. SCHAYES is *Conservateur des Monumens du Pays*, and is therefore expected to visit them from time to time, to report on their state of preservation, and to inspect their repairs. We cannot but speak in praise of Commissions which produce works like the present. It is written in a clear and concise style, and lays before us an illustrated and methodical account of the architecture of Belgium. He divides his subject into six styles,—the Celtic, Germanic, Roman, Byzanto-Roman, Gothic, and Modern. This first volume principally relates to Roman architecture, though it extends to the consideration of Gothic. The author has considered it desirable to “begin at the beginning,” for he has commenced with a treatise on the Five Orders, which would certainly have been better omitted. The work is embellished with numerous figures, many of which are from the more elaborate work of Schmidt, and is especially valuable as giving an illustrated and complete point of view of the architecture of Belgium.

XI.

DISCOVERIES AT NIMROOD;

BEING A COMMUNICATION FROM THOMAS N. LYNCH, ESQ.,
DATED BAGDAD, 17TH Nov. 1850.*

THE information you have received, that “ the History of Assyria will shortly be read from the architectural designs and sculptures on the bas-reliefs which decorate the walls of the palaces at Koyunjik and Nimrood,” is correct ; but, as you rightly conjecture, these sculptures have no reference to architectural subjects, but the communication you have received merely signifies that the sculptures are disposed in architectural arrangement. In fact, few, if any, delineations of architectural structures have been met with, which can in any way show the progress of the art, or illustrate its history during the period in which these monuments were erected.

In the central pyramidal mound at Nimrood, an immense massive wall has been discovered, but whether it was the outer wall of the palace, or one of the inner walls, it is difficult to determine ; the stones, as in all the ancient work, are of immense size. The obelisk and the arch were known to the architects of Nineveh, but the column and capital appear to have been invented subsequently. Square turreted castles are of constant occurrence in the bas-reliefs of both places. Though both sites have been completely excavated by Mr. Layard, still it is impossible to say what was the precise shape of either of the palaces, the height of any room, or their exact form ; and it is still more hopeless to determine what was the external appearance of the entire building.

The British Museum will shortly contain all sculptures of importance that have been discovered : but the sameness of the sculpture, and the quantity of duplicates discovered in the same palace, are surprising ; and I must concur with Dr. Wall in the opinion that too much value has been attached to the cuneiform inscriptions, even should they become correctly deciphered.

* This and the following paper arrived too late to be inserted in their proper place. We have therefore been obliged to print them in the smaller type.

XII.

ON THE APPLICATION OF POLYCHROMY TO MODERN
ARCHITECTURE, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE DECORATION OF THE
EXHIBITION BUILDING IN HYDE PARK.

HAVING received this day a printed copy of a lecture delivered at the Royal Institute of British Architects, on Monday, 16th December, on the decorations proposed for the Exhibition Building in Hyde-park, the drawings exhibited on which occasion I had the privilege of seeing, though I was prevented from hearing the lecture itself, I venture to offer the following remarks on the subject.

Mr. Jones, with great frankness and candour, lays before us his theories and proposals, and invites the opinion, "criticisms," and "advice" of his professional brethren. He acknowledges his task to be a "difficult operation," and we may therefore presume it to be of doubtful result. He refers, with great truth, to the circumstance, that England is far behind the nations of the Continent in the application of Polychromy, (witness the *decoration* of the hall and staircase of the British Museum,) and he likens those who, as on the present occasion, make the first trials for its introduction, to the leaders of a forlorn hope, who indeed may fail, but they will be followed by others, who, profiting by their endeavours, will eventually obtain success.

From the diffidence, if not mistrust, involved in these remarks, I may be permitted to venture a few observations on the system of colouring proposed to be employed, even at the personal risk of joining the fortunes of the "forlorn hope;" and if such observations appear rather as objections, I beg it to be understood that I submit them with equal diffidence, and with deference to his well-known taste and experience.

The principle which he proposes to adopt is declared in the following words:—*In the decoration of the Exhibition Building I therefore propose to use the colours, blue, red, and yellow, in such relative quantities as to neutralize or destroy each other.* We have often heard visitors to Rome, and even professional men, speak with admiration of the wonderful beauty of proportions in St. Peter's, declaring that the parts are so skilfully proportioned, that you have no idea of the size of the building till after you have thoroughly examined it. Nothing can be a more absurd error. As

if Sir Christopher Wren were not entitled to our praise for having, at infinitely less cost, made St. Paul's *appear* larger than St. Peter's really is !

From the propriety of adopting such a principle, I must therefore unhesitatingly dissent. Were it considered desirable so to balance the various colours as to prevent any one tint being predominant, it would be far better to cover the entire building with a grey colour, than to employ considerable time and expense in painting it with various minute tints, the combined effect and object of which would be to obtain a similar result. In opposition, therefore, to this theory, I would maintain that the colours should be so selected and employed, that every tendency to confusion or neutralization should be avoided, and preponderance constantly given to some one colour.

Mr. Jones refers to experiments by Mr. Field, by which he established that white light consists of blue, red, and yellow, in the proportions of 8 : 5 : and 3 ; but however true this may be as a point of science, it does not necessarily follow that it is a law of beauty. Great stress is laid on the employment of the primary colours, and our attention is here directed to the best possible illustrations,—the effects produced in other buildings. We are told that in the remains of Nineveh, Central America, Egypt, Greece, and throughout the vestiges of Eastern civilization, the primaries, blue, red and yellow, were the prevailing colours—the secondaries appearing very sparingly.

But if the secondaries were employed by the ancients, however sparingly, why should they be discarded altogether by us? It may be true that primary colours are found employed in the comparatively rude monuments of Nineveh and Central America, as they are found chiefly in Etruscan and Pelasgic art : I admit that green is used but sparingly by the Greeks, but I believe it is the general opinion of those who have studied the polychromy of the ancients that warm cream-colours, if not purple-reds, were extensively employed by them ; and it is certain that the secondaries, green especially, were employed by the Egyptians, this colour being possibly selected by them from its refreshing contrast to the glare of their sultry atmosphere. Among the coloured decorations at Thebes, I was much struck with granites stained artificially with *transparent* colour approaching to yellows and reds ; the felspar, mica, and quartz, being perfectly distinguishable underneath.

With regard to the vestiges of Eastern civilization, it is very evident that they are far from being confined to the primary colours. Let us turn over the plates of the First Part of Mr. Jones's magnificent work on the Alhambra, and we find the secondary colours of green and purple extensively employed—yellow but seldom,—and the tertiary colour, brown, (which gold appears whenever it is, as is generally the case, in shade,) becoming the prevailing tint. In fact, the proportions here are much more like 3 : 5 : 8 than 8 : 5 : 3. Black and white are also extensively employed. Not only in the modern edifices of Cairo, but in its gorgeous ancient structures we find the secondary colours alike employed. The Greeks applied colour with a particular object—that of clearing out and assisting their detail ;

the Saracens employed it as ornament. They not only coloured the intricate fretwork of their vaults, but the flat surfaces of their walls, with the most delicate and minute ornaments; and their consummate skill and knowledge of colour cannot be denied. But in the Saracenic mosaics of Sicily and the southern coast of Italy, subjected to Saracenic influence, we find blue but seldom employed, yellow not at all, (unless we regard gold as yellow), and the principal colours to be red, green in serpentine, and purple in porphyry, relieved by white, gold, and black. In the more delicate mosaics of the East, we find the secondary colours supplied by tortoiseshell and other shell-fish; and these colours equally abound in the ancient Turkish monuments of Asia Minor—at Ballat, Mellass, Konieh, Aiasalik, Bursa; and the very name of *Yesheel Djammi* at Nicæa (the green mosque) is sufficient to show the prevalence of the application of the secondary colours.

We are told that in the “best periods,” the secondary colours, when used, were generally confined to the lower parts of the buildings. It is true there are instances of this practice in the Alhambra, as in the Court of the Fishpond, and the Hall of the Two Sisters; but I must confess I do not recollect ever having seen or heard of any Grecian building that was decorated with a green, or even a purple plinth. The theory, however, is supported by the assertion that “Nature employs the primary colours for her flowers, and reserves the secondaries for her leaves and stalks.” But are not some of the most beautiful flowers purple, scarlet, or orange-coloured? and are not some of the most delicate marked by peneillings varied by every gradation of colour? or are we to regard only those as beautiful which are composed of primary colours, as the poppy and the buttercup? and is not the reason why green is so little used in flowers, owing to the consideration that Nature has employed it where it could be used most freely, as in the leaves and stems. Green is, indeed, the most universally-employed colour in nature, and the most soft and pleasing to our eyes. Let it be granted that colours in a given ratio (as 8 : 5 : 3, or any other) are most harmonious as applied to architectural decoration. Shall we, in consequence of this, confine ourselves invariably to such a disposition, at the evident risk of tameness and monotony, and deny ourselves the use of the secondary colours, and the important neutral colours, black and white?

The Greeks, as I have stated, applied colour with the particular object of clearing out and rendering their detail more distinct: the Saracens covered the entire surface of their buildings with colour, whether in the intricate moulding or the flat surface, but always in strict architectural arrangement; while the Gothic architects frequently employed coloured decoration without reference to the form; as in clustered columns, which are frequently covered with large diaper work. Now, as the Exhibition Building has but few large surfaces, the Saracenic system of colouring is wholly inapplicable, and it remains to choose between the Gothic and the Greek. The former would be very difficult of application in a building which has but little wall-surface and no vaulting. The iron-trussed girders might, indeed, be decorated in

imitation of the timber-roofs of some of our churches, or those of Sicily, San Miniato or others; but the Greek system appears, of all others, the most applicable in a building, where so much requires to be done to render its mazy wilderness of columns intelligible.

The result, which it is expected will be obtained by the system of colouring intended to be employed, is to "increase the height, the length, and the bulk." This would be the legitimate object of an architect called upon to decorate a building of restricted dimensions, but is it requisite to effect this in an edifice which is already called the "monster" building? Are want of length and breadth and height its main deficiencies, which require the aid of the skilful architect to conceal and to overcome—or shall he not rather endeavour to make its construction *appear* more solid, its disposition and maze of columns more simple, its vast and tiring monotony less irksome? In the Greek temples we admire how the sculptures are brought out by a blue ground; how the horizontal line of the sculpture on the cella wall brings out the perpendicular lines of the columns in front; how the architects endeavoured to "neutralize" the confusion arising from a grove of columns in the pronaos and posticum of their temples; how the indistinct forms of the mouldings and ornaments in the soffites were lightened and picked out; and to select one instance, how, in the Erechtheum, the dark confused shade produced by the great projection of the northern portico was remedied by the aid of tœrentic art.

This, I think, can only be obtained by party colouring, and this leads me to advert to another point on which I must differ from the opinion entertained by Mr. Jones, and that is, that the custom frequently observed in house decoration, of having one room green, another pink, and another red, is inapplicable to such a building. I consider such a system as the only proper one to be employed.

The walls of Ecbatana were painted white, black, purple, blue, orange—and the last two were silvered and gilt. At Athens were two tribunals, the Green and Red, clearly showing that these colours were the predominant ones employed in those particular buildings. What constitutes the charm of the houses at Pompeii is the variety of decoration which abounds in them. They did not select any set colour or design which they conceived to be the most beautiful, and adhere to that invariably, but they endeavoured to give a different character to each portion of the house. What can be more beautiful than the chaste arabesques on a *white* ground which decorate the tablinum of the Casa delle Capitelli Colorati, unless it be the more celebrated arabesques on a *black* ground, in the house called, in consequence, Casa della Camera Nera? And to cite modern instances, I will refer only to the Glyptothek at Munich, the walls of which, throughout the building, though painted to set off the sculpture to best advantage, are not tinted of any one colour thought most capable of producing such effect, but each suite of rooms is decorated in a different colour—green, brown, and red—in order to produce a greater variety.

From these considerations I would venture to submit:—That the columns, from their small diameter, instead of being reduced by strips of colour placed alternately, be treated in the simplest manner: that the nave and aisles be painted in different colours, and as there are seven galleries, they may be of the prismatic colours, the divisions along the sides of the columns being then less evident. These would be merely the groundwork of the decoration, and any appropriate ornaments might be overlaid upon them, so as to give the whole a connected and harmonious character. The great transept might be white, with similar ornaments. Or,—the building might be divided into compartments, each compartment of three or four bays being differently coloured.

EDWARD FALKENER.

Dec. 30th, 1850.

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. II. — APRIL, 1851.

XIII.

ON THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS IN THE
LESCHE AT DELPHI.

PART II.

THE words of Pausanias imply that the second composition on the left hand wall in the Lesche, is supplementary to, not to say part of, the first, and we have to look accordingly for the development of the same leading ideas.

“The other portion of the painting to the left, he says, is “Ulysses descended to Hades, so called, in order to inquire of “the shade of Teiresias respecting his return home.”

In the general plan of this picture we shall find certain very remarkable parallelisms to the first, but still with the same art in avoidance of tame repetition, that we recognised in the association of limited groups. Again we are struck with the marked correspondence in significance between the terminal subjects, and again two extensive systems of groups divide between them the intermediate space. But the main difference between the two compositions begins here; in the first, the parallelism in general arrangement of the two greater systems or divisions of groups, was far more salient than any that appeared between parts of the same system to each other: in the present instance this rule of correspondence is reversed, and we find, when we have reconstructed the composition in closest accordance with the description, that each of the great divisions that together fill up the scene, has a distinct organization of its own, and it is within itself and between its component groups that parallelism is most

prevalent,—coherence of the two masses being provided for by identity in principle of distribution and rule of contrast, of which they conjointly illustrate the resources.

The following is an abstract of the description, leaving out not only irrelevances, but those knots and entanglements in the writer's style that seem likely to remain of questionable interpretation, and are too much disputed to warrant citation for one view or another:—

“ A river is represented, evidently the Acheron, with reeds “ in it and indistinct forms, less like fishes than shadows of “ fishes. On the river is a craft, and a ferryman at the oars,— “ Charon, represented as of advanced age; for passengers there are “ Tellis as a youth, and Cleoboia, yet a maiden; she holds in her “ lap a cista, such as belongs to the rites of Demeter. The poet “ Archilochus (*of Paros*) is said to have been third in descent “ from Tellis, and Cleoboia first introduced the orgies of Demeter “ into Thasos from Paros. On the bank of the Acheron, “ about under the boat of Charon, is an undutiful son throttled “ by his father, and near him is a man, guilty of sacrilegious “ robbery, receiving punishment from a female skilled in “ deforming or disfiguring poisons.

“ Higher up than the enumerated figures is Eurynomus, said “ by the Delphian guides to be a *δαίμων* who gnaws the flesh of “ the dead, leaving only the bones; he is painted of the blue- “ black colour of flesh-flies, and shows his teeth; beneath him, as “ he sits, is the skin of a vulture.

“ In order after Eurynomus are Auge of Arcadia, and “ Iphimedeia. Higher up than those already enumerated are “ the companions of Ulysses, Perimedes and Eurylochus, “ bringing victims—black rams. After them is a seated man, “ named in the inscription Oknos; he is twisting a rope, which “ a female ass beside him is eating up as fast as he twists it. “ Tityus is also represented, not now under punishment, but “ as if worn out and consumed by his past sufferings,—a faint “ figure, not altogether distinguishable. Proceeding with the “ picture in order, we come to Ariadne, very close to the twister

“ of the rope; she is seated on a rock, and regards her sister
 “ Phædra, who is elevated in a swing, and holds the cord on
 “ either side with her hands.

“ Below Phædra is Chloris reclining on the lap of Thyia,
 “ clearly expressing that an attachment existed between them
 “ while they were living. Beside Thyia is Procris, daughter of
 “ Erechtheus, and after her Clymene, who turns her back to her.
 “ The story how Procris was the wife of Cephalus before Cly-
 “ mene, and how she died by the hands of her husband, is matter
 “ of notoriety. Inwards from Clymene is Megara.

“ Over head of the women enumerated is the daughter of
 “ Salmoneus sitting on a rock, and Eriphyle standing near her,
 “ holding the ends of her fingers near her neck, through her
 “ chiton; the position of her hands and the folds of her dress
 “ readily suggest that she is concealing the celebrated necklace.

“ Above Eriphyle he has painted Elpenor in the garb of a
 “ sailor, and Ulysses crouching over his feet and holding his
 “ sword above the trench. The soothsayer Teiresias advances
 “ to the trench; behind Teiresias, on a rock, is Antikleia,
 “ mother of Ulysses. Below Ulysses, sitting on thrones, are
 “ Theseus and Pirithous. Theseus holds both his own sword
 “ and that of Pirithous; Pirithous seems to look at them as
 “ grieving at their uselessness in his enterprise.

“ Next in order, Polygnotus has painted the daughters of
 “ Pandarus as maidens crowned with flowers and playing with
 “ astragals, with the names Kameiro and Klytie.

“ After the daughters of Pandarus is Antilochus, &c., &c.”

In the arrangement I have adopted, the position of Eury-
 nomus, relatively to the figures “next in order after him,” may
 seem open to dispute; but the words of Pausanias appear most
 naturally to imply that he is over, not merely the group of the
 sacrilegious man, but also higher up than Charon’s boat; if,
 then, the group of Auge and Iphimedeia, who are stated to be
 “in order after him,” are to be lifted up into the same
 line with him, the companions of Ulysses, who are “above
 them,” will participate in the change, and we shall thus have at

this end of the picture four tiers of figures instead of the three that are repeatedly established in other parts of the description, as where Elpenor is stated to be above Eriphyle, who is above Clymene. There is less violence in the free interpretation I have followed—the general phraseology of the whole description considered, than in such a general and intolerable dislocation. The place assigned to Tityus is justified by absence of any definite account of his place—the notice of him is thrust in between that of Oknos and the figure that is “close to Oknos,” by correspondence with the groups of the damned, (to borrow a term disagreeable but convenient,) in the lower line, which general similarity to the arrangement at the other end of the picture would lead us to expect, and finally by a subjective propriety in his relation to Eurynomus. Polygnotus in this picture, as in the former, softens the more shocking details and exaggerated inventions of poetry, as if knowing that what would bear to be related would not bear to be exhibited, and that therefore the painter, to keep within the limits of chastened expression, must restrict himself more severely than the poet. The Tityus of Homer lay extended nine acres large, and a pair of vultures, one on either side, tore his liver. I have no doubt that the carnivorous Eurynomus, on his vulture skin near the worn and wasted form of Tityus, is to replace the vultures of the poet. We trace something like this progressive anthropomorphism in other instances among the Greeks; the sea-god Nereus sometimes appears in form a merman—half human, half a fish, then entirely human, and riding on the complete sea monster, from which he has become detached and extricated; lastly, the brute disappears, and Nereus walks alone in human form divine. So Ccerops, who is seen on the vase half man, half serpent, was represented by Phcidias on the western pediment of the Parthenon, in form a man, and seated on the coiling serpent.*

* See my explanation of the Groups in the Western Pediment of the Parthenon, *Classical Museum*, xviii.

The punishment of Tityus, according to Homer, was for the crime of molesting Latona on her way to Delphi; he was thus a type of the sacrilegious troops or tribes who infested the route of the devout visiters of the fane. We have other notices of the annoyance in Greek antiquity; and a like effect has followed like causes in Christian ages, as, apart from expenses of travel, the reception of a pilgrim at his journey's end, has ever depended on his not arriving empty-handed. The theme, so interesting at the wealthy Pytho, of the enormity of sacrilege, which was introduced in the first painting in the acts of Ajax and Neoptolemus, is here again enforced by mythical example, and also by the group at the bottom of the picture, of the plunderer of things consecrated and his tormentor. The retaliation on the undutiful son furnishes a companion group, on the principle that made piety towards parents and towards the gods, the leading and constantly-conjoined inculcations in old Greek codes of moral duty. So Pindar gives them on the authority of the centaur Chiron, (*Pyth.* VI.,) and so they stand among the precepts ascribed to Eleusinian Triptolemus.

Now, then, becomes apparent an additional propriety in the painter's treatment of the subject of the departing Greeks; the filial solicitude of Athenian Demophon for the release of his grandmother, Æthra, at once appears—these traditional associations recognised, in pointed contrast to the irreverent violence of Ajax and Neoptolemus, and we are bound to recognise a natural coherence between the two subjects. Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia*, claims for the Athenians the honour of peculiar tenderness on the head of filial duty.

The boat of Charon, with Tityus and Eurynomus above, and the pair of tortured wretches below, constitute the first system of groups, to which we shall find another, at the other end of the picture, very exactly correspond.

The introduction of Tellis and Cleoboia into the subject is an obvious anachronism, of which the full motives are probably

now irrecoverable;* the Thasian connexion of the pair directs our attention to the patriotic feeling of the painter, and this, with a certain harmony with the subject, of which we shall have to say more, will bring the case within the rule of those more familiar violations of the strict unities, that abound in the works of the great Italian painters. We may safely assume here, as there we can so constantly and satisfactorily trace, a principle of transcendental congruity dominating all minor, and, in truth, unimportant incongruities. Some vestige of the painter's thought may be revealed by such hints as these. The birth and glory of Archilochus, the descendant of Tellis, Parian and Thasian,—and among Greek poets he was second in renown to Homer alone, was foretold by a Delphic response: it was in obedience to another that, at an early age, he was the leader of a colony from Paros to the native island of Polygnotus; he fell in battle at an advanced age, and when his slayer appeared at Delphi, he was warned by the Pythoness off the sacred precinct with horror, as an unclean thing, stained with the blood of the favourite minister of the god. Among the works of Archilochus was a hymn to Demeter, for which he gained a prize at Paros, probably in a festival at the very sanctuary of which his relative Cleoboia had been a priestess. Telesicles, the name of his father, is an indication of the continued connexion with the worship; and it is more than a mere coincidence that the great Iambic satirist of Greece, had such close family attachment to the worship, in which satirical improvisation was a sanctioned—it may be said, a sacred custom. Compare the mythology of Iambe in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. I suspect that the hymn of Archilochus to the goddess, together, perhaps, with his poem of the Shipwreck, would have helped us to an elucidation of the painting far different from that we are now fain to be content with.

* May it be to this that the ill-expressed and much-debated observation of Pausanias, as to “the obscurity of the relations of the passengers in the boat”—I translate the ambiguity, alludes?

The parallel groups at the other end of the picture, will present additional allusions to the mysteries of Demeter—allusions of which the appropriateness to the present occasion might seem sufficiently justified by the special reference of the goddess, both at Thasos and Attica, to the under-world, the subject of the painting. But there is a farther propriety, that it is as well to notice at once. The Amphictyonic league, of which a chief object was the protection of the Delphic sanctuary, was a combination from immemorial time, of two leagues, one connected with Apollo and Delphi, the other with Demeter and the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ, where, at a temple of the goddess, the meetings were convened alternately with Delphi. It may not be too much to infer from a passage of Pliny (*H. N.* 35, 9), that the Amphictyony employed Polygnotus, and the references to Demeter became therefore as appropriate, as indispensable, as those to Apollo and Artemis, and admirable is the art with which the painter has availed himself of all the advantages, and responded to all the requirements of the combination.

One more observation lies too close at hand to be avoided; the Parian worship of Demeter comes into notice in the unfortunate events that cloud the last days of the glorious life of Miltiades, the father of Cimon the patron, or let us give more honour either way, and say, the friend of Polygnotus. The adventure in which Miltiades received the injury that proved fatal, exposed him also to a charge of violating a sanctuary. Herodotus recounts the application of the Parians to Delphi on the subject, and the answer of the god may be favourably interpreted as exculpating the hero. But Miltiades, who lay under such an imputation, claimed Æacid descent; and on combining all the circumstances of the incident, it becomes a problem to explain how Polygnotus came to select for the stoa of his son, such a subject as the trial of Ajax Oïleus for sacrilege.

In the upper line, the extent of vacant interval between the group of Ulysses and his companions bearing the victims, is very large, but it cannot be conscientiously reduced; and we

shall find other instances in the picture of like vacuities, which no doubt were adopted and managed on definite and effective principles. I have relieved it a little by the introduction and management of the tree, in a manner authorized by the vase paintings, and fully vindicated here by certain agreement of effect, with the tree of the second set of groups.

I have no hesitation whatever in making Teiresias a full-length figure, advancing to the point from which, in the Berlin design, in deference to a vase-painting rather than to either Homer or Pausanias, he is seen half emerging. Pausanias says distinctly that Ulysses crouches holding his sword above a pit, towards which Teiresias advances. Into this pit—"a cubit long and wide"—after milder libations the hero had, with face averted, caused the blood of the victims brought by Perimedes and Eurylochus, to run. Then he bade his two comrades flay and burn the slaughtered victims, praying to the gods, Hades and Persephone; but he himself sate with drawn sword, and permitted none of the ghosts, not even that of his mother, Antikleia, to approach the blood before he interrogated Teiresias. Teiresias approaches, and bids the hero retire from the pit and withhold his sword, while he drinks of the blood.

Consistently with this description, there is no meaning in the position of Ulysses, unless the pit is to be considered already full of blood, and the victims slain; but how, then, can the comrades be represented bringing them for the purpose of being slain? The notion that they are doing so, can only rest on the supposition, that Polygnotus intended to represent two moments of time in the two groups: at the earlier moment, the bringing of the victims; at the later, the proceedings after they were killed. No advantage, however, is apparent to compensate for the clumsiness of the plan, and the incongruity of the absence of Ulysses on the first occasion, and of his companions on the second. Polygnotus, I believe, interpreted Homer to the effect, that having slaughtered the sheep, Ulysses dismissed his companions to burn the carcasses; certainly, the whole tenour and effect of the remainder of the description, convey the impression that he is

quite alone among the crowding shades, and alone rejoins his crew on the shore. The accession of dignity to the chief person in the adventure, that thus accrues, is obvious and important; here, however, as in several other points, the artist, and not the commentator, must furnish the last elucidation; and I have not reversed the movement of the figures.

There could be no more appropriate pendant to the subject painted on the opposite wall—the origin of the disasters of the returning Greek fleet, than the descent of Ulysses to Hades, to learn from the prophet the means of avoiding his share of them; and the moral of respect for sanctuaries would again be pressed on the Greek who knew his Homer by heart, by the recollection that Teiresias made the safe return of the Ithakan, conditional on his reverentially abstaining from the sacred herds of the Sun, feeding on the isle Thrinacia—of the Sun that “hears all things, and all sees;” and that it was in consequence of disregard of these injunctions by his crew and companions that they perished to a man, and he returned alone.

The allusion to the funereal rites of Elpenor, piously performed by Ulysses, is another point of attachment to the first painting, as it necessarily reminds of the like office performed by the same hero for Laomedon, through his friend and associate Sinon.

The two lower rows of figures of this system of groups, exhibit very palpable symmetry of arrangement. Oknos, at his thriftless work at one extremity, has a pair of female figures on either side of him; and the group of Theseus and Pirithous, as they gaze on their useless weapons, are similarly supported. Below the two central female pairs of this line are two other pairs, with a single figure in the midst. These five figures in the lowest line, divided by an equal interval from the sacrilegious wretch and from Antilochus, give central mass to the system of groups, and render the unconformable arrangement of the upper line more remarkable; but it is thus, in fact, that the painter seems to have given emphasis to the group in the upper line, and to have indicated that the common point of connexion

and transition between the two grand divisions of the composition, lay there.

Polygnotus follows the *Odyssey* in introducing numerous heroines in proximity to the scene of the appearance of Teiresias—wives and daughters all, says Homer, of the great. The significance of this circumstance I am not quite prepared to appreciate. However, painter and poet seem to agree in the titles they admit to such place and precedence—misfortunes, crimes, and loves, of renown and scale befitting the state of heroines: Iphimedeia, Ariadne, Phædra, Tyro, Eriphyle, Chloris, Procris, Clymene, and Megara, are all in the Homeric enumeration; but the Pandarids and Auge and Thyia, replace Antiope, Epikaste, Alcmena, and Leda. In both catalogues the heroines number thirteen, and thirteen is too frequent and favourite a number in Greek legends for the coincidence to be accidental. *Æolid* descent seems the characteristic that is most nearly common to all—indication of the origin of the poetical tradition: the full investigation of the subject would lead too far, and I fear to little result; but a few observations may be admitted on the scope of the painter's originality of treatment.

Of Auge and Iphimedeia, who are grouped together, Pausanias observes, as if in explanation, that they were both connected with Asiatic localities: one was mother of Telephus by Hercules—Telephus, of all the sons of Hercules most like his father; the other rewarded the love of Poseidon with the giant twins, Otus and Ephialtes. The *Æolian* god, Poseidon, was also the lover of Thyia and of Tyro, and Chloris was mother of Nestor by Neleus, son of Poseidon.

The affectionate grouping of Thyia and Chloris is thus sufficiently accounted for; it contrasts with the slighting movement of Procris, as she turns away from Clymene, her husband's second wife. Megara, says Pausanias, is placed inwards in respect to Clymene. I suspect that their relative position indicated the sympathy that harmonizes with their not dissimilar fortunes, as Megara was deserted by Hercules on grounds that were no impeachment of her affection: the antithetic

contrast of the pair thus combined, to Chloris and Thyia, will not fail to be noted.

An antithesis seems also intended between Auge and Iphimedeia—consorts of heroes, and mothers of mighty sons, and the pretty little Pandarids who were snatched away by ruthless fate just at marriageable age, and never had husbands at all. The daughters of Pandarus are seasonal types like the daughter of Demeter, and like the children of Niobe, with whom their monumental story interchanges details very remarkably. Of the family of Niobe, one alone, the youngest, was spared; and it is an observation of Panofka, that this type was reproduced in the parallel mythus, as represented on the Lycian tomb, where the Harpies carry off four Pandarids, and one remains behind. But the obligation was mutual, and an Athenian artist has drawn on a marble slab the daughters of Niobe, engaged in the childish game of astragals, as Polygnotus long before painted the daughters of Pandarus at Delphi.

With respect to Oknos, it is certainly open to question whether Pausanias rightly renders the meaning of Polygnotus, as typifying in the destructive ass, the wastefulness of woman; but there is much in favour of the view, and it may have had better authority than is now forthcoming. Certainly, such a type is quite in accordance with the spirit of Hesiodic poetry, and agrees to the letter with one of the less favourable comparisons of Simonides of Amorgos. Oknos, at his toil, is suffering the punishment appropriate to husbands who, neglecting the maxims and warnings of the satirical moralists, are content to slave for the support of drones. Perhaps we may even recognise a glance at this theory of domestic economy, in the *Nekyia* of the *Odyssey*, in the invectives of Agamemnon against the sex, moralized by Ulysses in the observation, that certainly the family of Atreus had not been fortunate in their feminine alliances; though Homer is far above countenancing the shabby and ungrateful murmurs of the Bœotian.

Next to Oknos, and not without a motive, are the sisters Ariadne and Phædra; the fate of the latter, who hanged herself,

is delicately indicated by placing her in a swing; the expedient is characteristic of the sensitive taste of the painter, and was redeemed from the slightest imputation of conceit, by the currency of illustrative traditions. At the *Aiora* of Attica, the women were accustomed to swing, in commemoration, it was said, of an Attic heroine, Erigone, who hanged herself. The swinging scenes that occur on vases, allude to this festival; the little dog that is frequently introduced is the dog Maira, transferred, along with the maiden his mistress, to the stars: the dog is also traceable on coins.

The rope of Phædra might not suggest the more innocent twine of her sister—the labyrinthine clue she furnished to Theseus, but for the proximity to the pair, of the rope-twisting Oknos. I do not think this a mere coincidence; had the connexion of ideas not been intended, the occasion for it would not have been given, and Polygnotus would have avoided the delicate theme *dans la famille d'une pendue*. Of the sisters, Ariadne at least, as a wife, was more sinned against than sinning; and in her place, and with the suggestion I have noted, she appears to be the qualifying apology for the imputation in the group of Oknos.

Tyro is the first of the heroines in the enumeration of the Odyssey, and great is the glory of her family; but on what grounds she was associated with the traitress Eriphyle, who sold her lord for a trinket, I do not know, and have not even a conjecture to offer that is worth the space it would occupy in setting down.

There is suggestiveness in the proximity of Eriphyle to Ulysses—whether the painter intended it in this particular form or not, and we naturally compare the fortunes of the Argive prince, doomed through the faithlessness of his wife to quit the home he was never to return to, and of the husband of the faithful and discreet Penelope. A reminiscence from the Homeric scene in Hades helps the association,—the warning of Agamemnon to Ulysses to bear in mind his fate, and, true as Penelope might be, to return at first in disguise, and prove her well before he placed himself in

her power. The Ithacan makes no acknowledgment for the advice, but we may observe that he takes care to follow it.

Theseus and Pirithous, fixed to the eternal seats that detained them when they descended to Hades in the impious design to carry off Persephone, are placed in significant proximity to Ulysses, more prosperous in a better-advised adventure. The weapons that they still hold, while they recognise their uselessness in despair, assist in closing up the contrast to Ulysses, crouching with potent sword over the pit,—an observation made by Goethe. We need not wonder that Ariadne and Phædra were placed apart from Theseus, so entrapped on such an errand; and we have had a glimpse of a reason for their position near Oknos; and if by a parity of illustration we are bound to admit and inquire for the corresponding link between Theseus and Eriphyle, it is consistent that a type of a bad wife should be classed with one, whom his general character and actual disaster proclaim as no model for the best of husbands. Again, as the neighbour of Oknos, Ariadne, has relations to Theseus, so the neighbour of the Theseus, Eriphyle, the selfish perverter of the proper resources of Amphiaraus, wise beyond the sons of men but ruining all by uxorious concession, is anti-type of the evil helpmate of Oknos.

The detention of Theseus in Hades here, agrees with the story of the other picture, where the duty of alleviating the misfortune of his mother, Æthra, devolves on her more pious grandchildren. Athenians, one might think, would take in ill part this exhibition of their heroes' misdeeds and disasters, yet Polygnotus, we have assumed, had already a connexion with Athens. Was the honour of Theseus redeemed by the sequel of the story, in which he owed his release to the friendship of Hercules? At any rate the tradition probably had very general acceptance, and we must not assign to Polygnotus, engaged in adding to the adornments of the common fane of Greece, and in the inculcation of a dignified sentiment, the narrow purposes and unscrupulous one-sidedness of a party politician.

We now proceed to the next grand division of the picture,

which exhibits in Hades, the Greek and Trojan comrades and contemporaries of Ulysses at the Trojan war. We shall find the transition marked by a certain break in the sequence of groups, and the division thus established corresponds with the pause in the hero's narrative to Alcinous, when, having enumerated the earlier heroines he had seen, he finds it convenient suddenly to stop short, just as the chief interest of the adventure approaches, to propose retirement to sleep, and to pray his immediate despatch homewards. It is no impeachment of the character of the hero, to suppose that he was not taken by surprise when his entertainers pressed him to continue his narrative, renewed assurances of safe convoy home, and kept up his spirits meanwhile by more liberal promises of rich presents at parting. He recommences in good heart, and tells next of his interview with his former companions in arms. It is for us to follow the painter and archaeologist:—

“After the daughters of Pandarus is Antilochus, with one
“foot upon a rock, and holding his face and head on his two
“hands; Agamemnon is after Antilochus, leaning on a sceptre
“under his left armpit, and elevating a staff with his hands.
“Protesilaus looks towards Achilles, who is seated, and above
“Achilles stands Patroclus. These are all beardless, with the
“exception of Agamemnon.

“Above them Phocus is painted, in age a youth, and Iaseus
“well bearded; he is taking a ring from the left hand of
“Phocus; apparently he wishes to examine it as a pledge of
“former attachment, and Phocus yields it for the purpose.

“Above these is Maira, seated on a rock, and in a line with
“Maira, Aktaion and his mother; they hold in their hands a
“fawn, and sit on the skin of a stag; a hound lies beside them.

“Looking again to the bottom part of the picture: in a line
“with Patroclus, on a sort of eminence, Orpheus is seated, his
“left hand on his lyre, while with his right he touches the twigs
“of a willow against which he leans. His costume is entirely
“Greek: he wears neither garment nor cap of Thrace. Against
“the willow on the other side leans Promedon.

“ In this part of the painting is Schedios, the leader of the
 “ Phocians at Troy: he holds a sword and is crowned with
 “ *agrostis*, and after him Pelias, seated on a throne; he is
 “ hoary, both head and beard: he looks towards Orpheus.
 “ Thamyris sits near Pelias, blind, and in every way dejected;
 “ his hair, both of head and beard, is very profuse; a lyre is
 “ thrown at his feet, with horns and strings broken.

“ Above Thamyris sits Marsyas on a rock, and Olympus by him,
 “ represented as a youth, and as if learning to play on the flute.

“ But if you look again to the upper part of the picture, “ there
 “ are in a line with Actæon, Salaminian (Telamonian) Ajax, and
 “ Palamedes playing at dice with Thersites. (Cf. PINDAR, *frag.* 95.)
 “ The other Ajax looks on at the game; his colour is that of a
 “ shipwrecked person, with the salt of the sea yet about his skin.
 “ Meleager is higher in the picture than Ajax Oïleus. He
 “ looks towards Ajax. Of these, Palamedes alone is beardless.

“ In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian
 “ Thamyris, is Hector, holding both his hands about his left
 “ knee, exhibiting the appearance of one in grief. After him is
 “ Memnon, seated on a rock, and Sarpedon grouped with
 “ Memnon. Sarpedon leans his head on both his hands; one
 “ of the hands of Memnon rests on his shoulder. All have
 “ beards; birds are wrought on the chlamys of Memnon. A
 “ naked Æthiop boy is beside Memnon.

“ Above Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, without beard; he
 “ is clapping his hands (?), and the action appears as if intended
 “ to call Penthesileia to him; Penthesileia looks at Paris, but with
 “ an expression of contempt. She is represented as a maiden,
 “ with a Scythian bow, and a pard skin on her shoulders.

“ Above Penthesileia are females carrying water in broken
 “ vessels; there is one still young, and one more advanced in
 “ age. The women have no inscription individually, but one
 “ common to both expresses that they are of the Uninitiated.

“ Above these women is Kallisto, daughter of Lycaon, and
 “ Nomia, and Pero daughter of Neleus. Kallisto has a bear-skin
 “ for the cover of her couch; her feet lie in the lap of Nomia.

“After Kallisto and the women with her, a precipice is represented, and Sisypheus is straining to push the rock up to the precipice.

“There is in the picture also a *pithos*, (large jar or butt,) and an old man and a boy with women, a young one below the rock, (of Tantalus,) and an old one by the old man; the others are carrying water; the old woman has broken her pitcher, and what water is still left in it she is pouring out again into the *pithos*.

“Below the *pithos* is Tantalus, enduring all the miseries Homer assigns to him, with the addition of fear of the suspended stone; in respect to which, Polygnotus evidently follows Archilochus.”

In this description we have numerous illustrations of the laxity with which Pausanias applies his prepositions, and it is fortunate that the course of the context repeatedly furnishes indications more conclusive and precise. Antilochus is *after* the Pandarids, who are *in a line with* Theseus, who is *below* Ulysses; but it is clear from the sequel that Antilochus is in the lowest line, and *after*, therefore, in this instance, means the next to be enumerated after, &c. We have already had an instance of this phraseology in the case of Oknos, who is in the same relative position to his antecedent as Antilochus—though not in the same row, the nearest neighbour. It seems necessary, however, to place the figures somewhat obliquely from the groups they come after, to account for their position not being rather indicated as *below* those groups.

Above (or *over*) is in itself as little determinate. Patroclus is *over* Achilles, but it is clear he belongs to the same row—the row above which is Phocus, above whom is Maira. So Paris and Penthesileia are *above* Memnon and Sarpedon in a very different sense to that in which, again, above them are the uninitiated women.

So, again, Meleager is *higher up* than Ajax, and Kallisto is *higher up* than the hydrophorai; but Meleager is clearly in the same general line as Ajax, for he is looking at him; and Kallisto

as clearly in a row above the water-carriers, for after her, in the same row, comes Sisyphus, who is *over* the *pithos*, and other water-bearers, who are *over* Tantalus.

Looking now at the present system of groups as developed, we find it exhibit very marked symmetry, or rather symmetrism, which is only modified to accommodate the natural articulation of the rest of the composition of which it forms a part.

It is the upper and lower rows that are here most closely occupied by figures; the middle row, in contrast to the first division, being comparatively open and unoccupied. On the lower line we have a group of five Greek heroes, answering to one of five Trojan worthies, and between them another group of five figures in which Orpheus is the chief person, and which asserts a central place in the arrangement by this parallelism at either side, by the interruption of the middle line by the tree, and by the distribution of other members. Above it is again a group of five Greek heroes, flanked symmetrically by two very analogous and corresponding groups, each consisting of three figures; and a like correspondence obtains between the two pairs of figures that flank the central space in the middle row.

If we now compare the two grand interior systems of groups; we observe that, while the important incident of the interview of Ulysses with Teiresias, gives animation to the first of them, it is in the second, with its more numerous and variously contrasted groups, and in its important and interesting heroes and larger space, that the art of Polygnotus found the greatest scope, and we therefore recognise again the same absence of technical counterpoise which we found and considered in the first painting. There is difference however, in the matter, which restores the general balance, inasmuch as, by a certain graphic polarity, it is at the terminal divisions of the double series that the chief energy becomes manifest; it is in the first portion of the commencing picture, and in the last of the concluding, that richness of association and pregnancy of meaning attain their

most emphatic expression; and thus it is only on arriving at the conclusion of the second picture, that the mind is contented with a sense of having received fulfilment of all the promise opened, but unsatisfied by the first. The awe of refining upon points that are either self-evident or hopelessly incommunicable, alone restrains me from pressing further the analogies between the correlative divisions of the two pictures, and between the principle observed in the apposition of the halves of the latter painting, and that which governs the general contrast of the two in their entirety.

We have now to do our best to find what was the principle of harmony in the inspiring and informing sentiment, that gave appropriateness to the figures selected, and their so closely studied ordination.

The triplet groups in the upper row, by analogy to the heroines of the first division, assist in blending the two, and again we find names, Maira and Pero, that occur in the Homeric *Nekyia*. Kallisto is seated on the skin of a bear, a type of her transformation into the animal; that her feet are placed on the lap of the Arcadian nymph Nomia—nymph, no doubt, of the Arcadian mountain Nomia, typifies, in a like spirit, the maiden's haunt of hill and forest while still in the train of Artemis. Pero is added to the group for a good reason, I doubt not, and perhaps to be found by searching for—but to me utterly unknown.

In the corresponding group, Maira so far answers to Kallisto, that, like her, she was slain by Artemis for faithlessness to the law of chastity, and her name also has astronomical relations. It were long to investigate the connexion between Maira, daughter of Prætus, and Maira the dog of Erigone, transferred as Canicula to the starry sphere; but the dog on a vase painting of Prætus and Bellerophon—the very same that enlivens the swinging scene of Erigone, convinces me that such there was. Pausanias notices that, according to the *Nostoi*, Maira died a maiden; even in this version of the story, as prematurely cut

off, a victim of the arrows of the sister of Apollo. The dog of Orion is named Maira by some authorities.

Another victim of the wrath of Artemis is Actæon, the next figure, and another instance of transformation; the fawn held by his mother, and the hound beside him, hint at this, and the latter aids the association with Maira, as his story admitted in antiquity interpretations from the physical influence of the dogstar. It was not unintentionally that these personages found their place in the upper part of the picture.

The group of Greek heroes at the bottom of the picture has many remarkable points; and here, as elsewhere, we find Polygnotus observant of Homeric authority and precedent, at the same time that he freely diverges from it, in obedience to dictates of his own imagination and the promptings of his proper theme.

Antilochus and Patroclus are at opposite ends of the group—the latter close to Achilles, as they are his attendants in the *Odyssey*. The arrangement makes the presence of Achilles diffusive and dominant over the group, though, in accordance with Homer, Agamemnon takes precedence of him. What may be the significance of the *rabdos* held by the king of men, is a question that I have but to repeat, as I cannot answer it. His appearance here helps to unite the two compositions, and aids no little in the enforcement of their moral, by recalling the sad account that he gives to Ulysses of his catastrophe, the treachery of his wife, the fate of Cassandra, who is so ominously introduced in the scene of the oath of Ajax.

The figure of Agamemnon is in marked contrast to the other heroes of the group, all models of youthful military prowess as well as of the quick blood and warm sympathies of young enthusiasm. Though Antilochus stands as the friend loved best by Achilles after Patroclus, he is in the *Iliad* brought into direct personal relation with him only on the occasions of the announcement of the death of Patroclus and at his funeral games; hence it is that friendship and its end that his presence

recals: he shared the same tomb as Achilles, though not, like Patroclus, the same funeral urn—a preference corresponding with that given in the painting.

As Achilles expresses heroic friendship, so does Protesilaus heroic conjugal affection. The first of the Greeks to land on Trojan ground, and the first slain, he revisited earth for a three hours' interview with his wife,—such boon the gods accorded to the prayers of Laodameia, and at the expiration of the time she voluntarily died to accompany him to Hades. It is, then, not without meaning and significance of contrast that such a neighbour is given to Agamemnon, victim of the adulterous yet not unprovoked Clytemnestra. Allusion to such a story obviously befits a picture which has for its subject a descent to Hades—the intercourse of the upper and under worlds. With Achilles, towards whom, and thus away from Agamemnon, he looks, he is obviously more in sympathy,—with Achilles, whose yearning for the upper world, solicitude for the welfare of his childless and unprotected parent, and interest in the exploits and honour of his son, give tone and character to his discourse with Ulysses.

The introduction of Briseis, Diomedes, and Iphigeneia in the first picture, prepared for the appearance and importance of Achilles and Patroclus in the second.

Antilochus, it may be added, sacrificing his life to save his father, Nestor, was the great heroic type of filial affection, the virtue that we have seen already enforced in the present picture, as the Pylian sage, the object of it, was prominent in the last. It may be said that there is nothing in the position of Antilochus whereby the reward of filial affection is very obviously set forth: this is true enough, and it is pleasing to recognise in the Greeks of this age, the theory of a duty paramount to calculation of what was to be got by it, either in the present world or a future.

It would be better, in the absence of an authority either way, that Protesilaus should be represented standing; and the words of Pausanias appear to require that the cheeks of

Antilochus should be enclosed within his hands, or at least rest on one of them.

Passing now to the group of Asiatic notabilities that answer to these five Greeks, the first is Hector, whose dejected expression seems due to reflection on the downfall of his nation, though the lines of Homer (*Iliad* xxii. 363) may be compared for what illustration they will give. Contrasted with him here, as in the *Iliad*, is Paris, who endeavours to engage the attention of Penthesileia—Paris still. He meets with only slighting regard, and one commentator has seen in this, the appropriate punishment in Hades of the professed lady-killer; but Paris, I doubt not, would readily persuade himself, with the usual philosophy of the frivolous—rational enough notwithstanding and better men may have occasion to envy them, that the loss was the lady's. In truth, I am disposed to consider that Pausanias misconstrues the gesture of Paris, or its intention, for there are notices enough to prove that a snap of the fingers had the same meaning—flippant disregard, in antiquity as now.

Between Paris and Penthesileia sit Memnon and Sarpedon together as friends; they have many characteristics in common; they both belong to the more remote allies of Troy: Sarpedon was slain by one of the friends of Achilles, and Memnon, more fortunate so far, slew Antilochus, the other, but only to meet his own fate from the spear of Achilles: victors and vanquished are thus in corresponding groups. Both Sarpedon and Memnon are of divine descent, and the body of either is carried away through the air by divine intervention for funereal honours. Compare the notice of the pair in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, v. p. 622.

On the robe of Memnon Polygnotus painted birds, in allusion to a mythus of his tomb on the Hellespont, and at his feet a naked Æthiopian, that is, a black boy—this evidently in concession to the associations with his name (*nigri Memnonis arma*, does not stand alone), though many monuments extant represent the prince, and his followers too, as of Hellenic pre-

sence, and also equipment, and so doubtless Homer conceived the slayer of Antiloehus—the beauteous son of the Morning. Memnon and Penthesileia were distinguished in the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus; and that the beauty of the latter should attract Paris in the painting, is in accordance with its having suggested a slander against Achilles in the poem. Like Hector, she died by the hands of Achilles, and the close relations of the two groups are completed, by Paris having been with Apollo to aid—no derogation from the exploit, the slayer of Achilles himself. None of the Trojans are mentioned in the Homeric *Nekyia*.

Five more Greeks are grouped together at the top of the picture: first and single is Telamonian Ajax, the only one of the five mentioned in the *Odyssey* as seen by Ulysses. Next to him are Palamedes and Thersites playing at dice—the invention of the former; the lesser Ajax is looking on; he is stained with the brine from the shipwreck—punishment of his misdeeds, as set forth in the companion-picture, the sign of the disaster which his ancient enemy, Ulysses, is learning from Teiresias how he may avoid. Pausanias remarks that Polygnotus designedly placed the opponents and enemies of Ulysses together, and certainly we must admit the significance of the arrangement. Thersites, who fares so ill at the hands of Ulysses in the *Iliad*, might seem too mean for the painter's notice, but he was concerned importantly in the post-Homeric incidents. Palamedes was still more important in the Cyclic poems, and is not mentioned by Homer at all; it is very difficult to think that his story could have gained such place and favour in tradition, unless branches and germs of it were anterior to Homer, in which case the poet must have suppressed his concern in the Trojan war deliberately, and doubtless for good poetical reasons. Were these reasons his too great participation in the leading characteristics of Ulysses, and the troublesome imputation that tradition affixed to the latter, of having removed his rival by vile stratagem? So far as I can trace, the traditions as we have them are uniformly in favour of Palamedes, and against Ulysses, and I do not quite perceive how Polygnotus

qualified the ungracious reminiscence—if indeed he desired to do so, unless to make him an associate of such a gamester as Thersites was held to discredit him sufficiently.

Meleager closes the group. Homer tells how he was persecuted by Artemis, and Pausanias that he was, according to some poets, slain by Apollo. He also figures in tradition of a descent to Hades—that of Hercules, whom he seized the opportunity of engaging to marry his sister Deïanira.

We now come to the central group of our secondary system, again composed of five figures, of whom the chief is evidently Orpheus; and surrounded as he is, it cannot be but that an important and crowning significance pertains to him.

To Schedios, however, the leader of the Phocians at the Trojan war, seems assignable the middle place, and he serves to vindicate the connexion of this group with those around it—with the other assailants and the defenders of Ilium. There is, then, a pair of figures on either side of him, and of each pair one figure is a bard—on one side sits Thamyris in an attitude of deep depression, deprived of sight, his lyre broken at his feet. He challenged the Muses to a trial of skill; the stake he proposed enhanced the insult and impiety, and he now suffers for his shameful failure. On the other side sits Orpheus, “on a sort of hill:” the best comment on the expression is to be found in the conventional indication of hills in the vase paintings; one hand is on his lyre, with the other he touches the twigs of a willow tree, type of the grove of Persephone.

Orpheus, as putative son of Apollo, has special claim to a place in a picture at Delphi, and Thamyris also had certain relations to the place, as his name occurred in the list of Pythian victors, in the early ages when the contest was a hymn to the god.—PAUS. x. 7.

The cause of the introduction of Pelias is not so obvious; but, in a dearth of even conjectures, I think it worth remarking that at the funeral games of Pelias, an occasion of such great renown, we are told by Hyginus (273), that Orpheus gained the prize with the lyre, and Olympus, pupil of Marsyas, with

the flute. Olympus and Marsyas thus gain an additional title to their place, besides their common relation to Delphi and its god. Meleager who appears in the group above Olympus was highly distinguished at the funeral games of Pelias. The Pythian nome was the work of the musician Olympus, whom the painter does not care to distinguish from his mythical prototype.

Phocus and Iaseus have claims to place from local relations, and correspond, as a group of an old man and a youth, to Olympus and Marsyas: some farther parallelism would be satisfactory, but none occurs to me.

Pausanias notices the profuse hair and beard given to Thamyris—they suggest the epithet *θαμύρις*; and the conjecture to an allusion to his name is quite fair, while like allusions are admitted in the white head of Pelias (*πολιός*), and the hand-to-hand weapon (*σχεδία*) of Schedios.

The meaning of the gesture of Orpheus, could we satisfactorily elicit it, would determine much. As Schedios is crowned with leaves from his native Parnassus—the *agrostis*, may we regard Orpheus as about to break off a wreath for his brows. Hercules, on his descent to Hades, cooled his brows with a wreath from the poplars of the same or a like grove of Persephone, and the underside of the leaf coloured by the sweat of the hero became white, and is so to this day. The story of the golden branch, which obtains for Æneas entrance to Hades, may be descended from the same associations; and, lastly, we find notice that the happy denizens of Elysium, those who enjoy the benefits of initiation, are crowned with chaplets. A passage in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, v. 1006, always reminds me of this group of Orpheus and his companion; but it may not be easy to communicate the force of the illustration.

Orpheus, then, I have no doubt was intended to be placed in triumphant contrast to the defeated and dejected Thamyras at the opposite end of the group, a contrast corresponding to that between Ulysses and the Ajaces; and this is quite in ac-

cordance with his remarkable relations to the under-world and to mystical initiations.

By this significance, of which more remains to be said, the son of Apollo has the same subjective pre-eminence in the second half of the painting, that belongs to Ulysses in the first. Neither of these protagonists, however, occupies the exact centre of his proper symmetrical system, and it is thus that Polygnotus preserved the feeling that those systems are dependent parts, not independent or even companion wholes, and caused them, we may say, mutually to gravitate towards each other. Ulysses verges to the right of one side on the upper row, Orpheus to the left of the other on the lower line: and thus, in distribution correlative yet contrasted, they throw the balance of import towards each other, and towards the middle line of the picture, and compensate, by a pictorial *cæsura*, for the weakness and blankness of the space so strongly occupied in the companion picture; and thus was braced a system of unity and purport such as no restoration we can provide will adequately set forth.

Among the first figures enumerated in this picture were, as we have seen, Tellis and Cleoboia, of Paros and Thasos, representatives of the worship of Demeter, and the introduction of her mysteries into the latter island. The great interest of these mysteries centered in the influence assigned to them in procuring for the Initiates safety through the perils of Hades, and happy return in due time to upper light; hence the appropriateness of the allusion, in a picture representing a successful descent to Hades, for such mythical descents and re-ascents, whether of god or hero—of Dionusos, or Kore, or Herakles, and therefore by analogy of Ulysses, were held to be types and guarantees of the true hope held out to the Initiate. So the safe return of Hercules was distinctly ascribed to his previous initiation; and in the picture before us we see the fate of the uninitiated confessedly typified in the endless and hopeless occupation of the hydrophoria—whether to fill a leaky cask, or broken pitchers. Now Orpheus had himself descended to Hades and returned, and he was accepted, in a certain range of tradition, as the great

mystagogue—the great inculcator of the futility of the fears of death, and the great example of the truth and reality of his doctrine. See the most important literary authorities,—Lobeck; *Aglaophamus*, p. 238.

Authorities as important for our present purpose are the pictorial decorations of Greek vases from Lower Italy. They present us with Orpheus in a scene of the under-world, and types of all the ideas that are so significantly assembled by Polygnotus. Orpheus, the mystagogue, in the Thracian costume which Pausanias is evidently surprised to miss, advances playing on his lyre to the palace of Hades and Persephone, and the Initiated are sometimes following, sometimes stand listening to him, and regarding him with attention like the Promedon—otherwise unknown, of our painting. Above are the powers or priestesses of the mysteries, clearly marked by their symbols, and mythical examples of respect or contempt for the solemnities—the Dioscuri, or Theseus and Pirithous. Below, Hercules, divinely conducted, drags the triple-headed Cerberus, undismayed by the Furies. Around, and bounding the scene, as in our painting, are the punishments of Sisyphus, Tantalus, &c.

One remarkable difference there is between the painting of Polygnotus and the vases: in our painting, the Uninitiated are typified by figures of various ages and either sex, who are engaged in the futile task of carrying water in leaking vessels; but on the vases, the maidens with vases in the scenes of the under-world are evidently not represented as punished, but rather as cheerfully celebrating a sacred rite. The analysis of the incongruity is a subject in itself. I can only notice here, that the punishment ascribed to the Danaids in Hades is clearly traceable by historical notices, to the polemical ingenuity of rival sanctuaries: the Argives claimed for the Danaids the honour of introducing the mysteries of Demeter into Greece, and rival claimants replied by assigning to the Danaids a place among the types of impiety in their Hades, and transforming their most sacred rite into a symbol of the imputed futility of their offices.

There can be little doubt that Pausanias was right in asso-

ciating the group around the *piithos* with the two water-carrying females, to whom the inscription *Uninitiated* was more immediately attached. There is, however, a little uncertainty as to their exact occupation; the words of the description appear to imply that the four figures were carrying water from, not to, the *piithos*, as one of them, whose pitcher is broken, is said to be pouring back what water remained. The sense and intention of the group, however, would remain the same, and the variation of the circumstances may be safely interpreted as nothing more than one of the fanciful, or more than fanciful, alterations in which, as we have seen, the painter asserts his right of originality.

From the illustration that the vase paintings mutually afford to each other, and derive in common from literature, their general significance under all variety of treatment is sufficiently recognisable, and in its leading lines is the same, and is that of the paintings of Polygnotus. In the practice of natural piety and respect for consecrated things, conjoined with conformity to certain symbolical rituals, of all which the initiating ministers of whom Orpheus was a type, were the great instruments and interpreters, lay the hope of the Greek religionist for peace in the grave and life beyond it. But as mere doctrine and inculcation tell but with secondary force, to promises that such would be the efficacy of worthy initiation, was added distinct averment that such it had been; thus the Dioscuri, thus Herakles, thus Orpheus or Ulysses, had surmounted the perils of the nether world—to pass over Dionusos, himself a god though son of Semele, and who, though a god, was precedent for human hope, like Egyptian Osiris, by himself having submitted to violent death, the condition of his triumph. Warning was as little wanting as example, and Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, with a band of worthy comates, completed the requisite hieratic apparatus.

But what belief and what influence could such inventions, in which allegory, and poetry, and arbitrary fiction, come forward into notorious daylight so constantly, have over reasonable beings—over Greeks? The question is no slight one:

that influence they did command, I must here assume, and it is most certain. It is another question whether such result was dependent on the peculiar state of the popular mind at a certain stage of historical development, or whether it exists as a permanent characteristic; and it behoves one who would be satisfied on this head, to examine whether he himself is so free from the weakness as to be entitled to propose the question; or, not being so, whether he is prepared to entertain temperately whatever suggestions the discussion, conscientiously conducted, may be found to lead up to.

Western Paganism had exhausted its last development, and was verging inevitably to the decrepitude that is unto death, when the forms of fable, in which it had so variously, but ever with a certain pervading homogeneousness, found expression for more teaching than it ever dogmatized, were confronted and compared with the substantial incidents—the promises and precedents, of a new faith. It is difficult at the present day for any but archæologists to appreciate the liveliness with which the Jewish controversialist, Tryphon, recognises in the supernatural story, urged upon his credence by evidence from his own prophetic books, nothing but the reproduction in yet another mythus—informed with whatever spirit, of the staple theory of man that the world was tired of, that had seemed effete and on the point of dying out. The analogy is not denied nor evaded by Justin Martyr, who conducts and records the deliberation. Few among us now, it is true, will assent to his confident solution of the difficulty, by ascribing the resemblance to the *finesse* of devils—prescient of the coming revelation, and preparing for confusion and cavils; but we must admire the candour with which the Father accepts his adversary's challenge for an answer, and look forward to the appearance of an inquirer and expositor, of better historical acumen but only equal self-respect, for the elucidation of one of the most interesting questions connected with the history and progress of our race.

WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.

XIV.

ON THE SCULPTURES OF THE IONIC MONUMENT
AT XANTHUS,
DISCOVERED BY SIR CHARLES FELLOWS.*

IN an age so distinguished by the researches of men of learning, the discoveries of zealous and enterprising travellers,—by whose labours we are enlightened and instructed, and through whom we are enabled to behold the acts and monuments, the manners and customs, of ages almost obliterated and swept from the records of time,—are entitled to the highest praise.

By the labours of such individuals we are enabled to obtain a just and correct knowledge of the religion, legends, and traditions of various and distant people, tracing the progress of each from its distant and original source, and thus to clear up many obscure passages, and to explain satisfactorily many historical events, of which few or very slight records at present remain: and it is thus that many facts recorded by ancient historians, and which the changes of ideas and customs in modern ages had condemned as fabrications, have been fully verified and confirmed.

Among late discoveries of this description, we may class the monument recently discovered in Lycia by Sir Charles Fellows; a monument in itself of the highest importance as regards the sculpture with which it is adorned, and the remote and interesting historical events which its bas-reliefs clearly reveal to us. We cannot but admire the zeal and perseverance

* This Paper has been kindly presented by the Council of the British Archaeological Association.

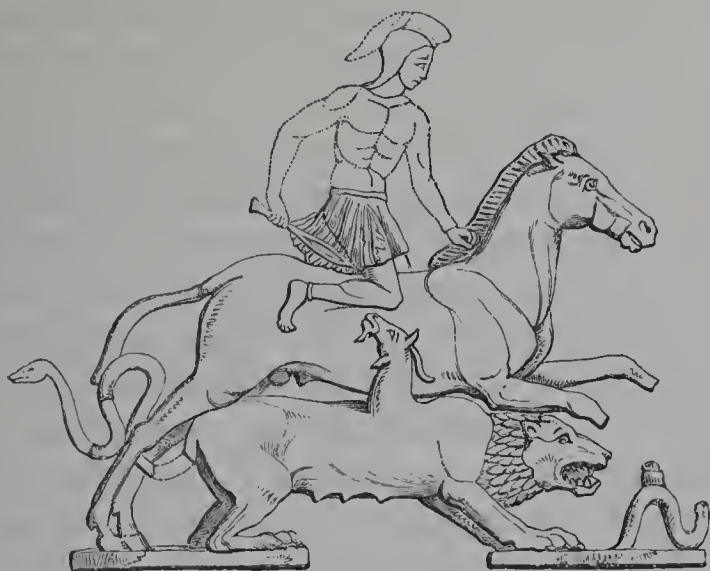
with which our enterprising traveller and countryman prosecuted his researches, and the ability and intelligence with which he conducted the excavations, so as to bring forth and restore to light a monument which had been lost for so many ages, and which is so important as illustrating an event recorded by the great Father of History,—the conquest of Lycia by the united forces of the Persians and Ionians. That this is the subject of the monument it will be my endeavour to prove, from the facts recorded to us by ancient authors, and from an examination of the structure itself.

The monument occupied the summit of a gentle eminence, standing on the edge of a cliff of nearly thirty feet in height, and situated about a mile from the city of Xanthus. The base of the monument measures thirty-three feet in length by twenty-two in breadth, and is of the natural stone of the country. The superstructure is of white marble; the pedestal of which is adorned with two rows of bas-reliefs—the lower and larger one representing a general battle of horse and foot, and the upper series offering all the incidents consequent to the siege and taking of a town. Upon this stylobate stood a peristyle, of four columns at each end and five on each side. They are of the Ionic order, and the building terminates with a ridge roof, and pediment at each end. A female statue in light drapery, with an emblem at her feet, occupies each intercolumniation. On the apex of the front pediment are two male statues, holding up a boy. The frieze of the entablature has hunting and battle scenes at the sides, and Persians and Greeks bearing offerings at either end. The frieze of the cella, within the peristyle, is ornamented with representations of funereal ceremonies.

In these relievos we see clearly people of distinct nations, as is manifest from the difference of costume. To know who they are, and who they represent, it will be necessary to refer slightly to those events of Lycian history which may throw light on the subjects represented in the sculptures of this monument, which, from its differing so essentially from every other object in this

country in its style of art, naturally leads us to conceive that it owes its origin to some foreign influence.

The fabulous history of Lycia records, to us the myths of Bellerophon, and of the carrying away of the daughters of Pandarus by the Harpies. The latter event is represented on, and has given its name to, one of the stelæ in the city of Xanthus. The accompanying representation of the story of Bellerophon is taken from a beautiful terra-cotta found in the island of Melos, and now in the British Museum. It is of early Greek art, anterior to the time of Phidias; and this corresponds with the fact, that the ancient poets make no reference to a winged Pegasus. It bears evidence of having once been decorated with colour.*



Bellerophon, a son of the king of Corinth, having murdered his brother, fled to the court of Prætus, king of Argos. Being unjustly accused of intriguing with the king's wife, he was sent to Iobates, king of Lycia, bearing instructions for his own death. For this purpose Iobates furnishes him with troops, and

* A very beautiful and superb Roman mosaic pavement representing this subject, discovered at Autun, in France, has lately been exhibited in this country.

directs him to kill the Chimera, a horrible monster, described by Hesiod as having the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a dragon, which was possessed of great velocity, which belched forth fire from its mouth, and which had for a long time laid waste Lycia.* Now the poets have generally interpreted this extravagant animal by the supposition, that it might have been a formidable volcano of this name in the Gulf of Telmessus, the summit being inhabited by lions, the centre by goats, and the foot of the mountain by serpents; and that the fable originated from Bellerophon's having reduced this tract of land and rendered it habitable.

Now it is absurd to suppose that Iobates would send Bellerophon with troops to the impossible task of destroying a volcano: it is most probable he was sent out on a military expedition; and with the suggestions afforded us by Tzetzes on *Lycophron*, we may be enabled to determine that he was sent against an enemy of three united people: for Tzetzes tells us that the lion was the emblem of the Solymean people, given to them by the poets on account of their bravery; that the goat was given to another neighbouring people, celebrated for their agility, and whom he names Amazons; and that the serpent typified those who inhabited the plains.†

The fact of Iobates endeavouring, in fulfilment of the instructions given him by Prætus, to cut him off in an ambuscade on his return, shows clearly that it was a military expedition, and that Bellerophon, or the man of council, (*Βουληφόρος ἀνὴρ*,) had destroyed the confederacy and conquered them. With this mythical introduction, we proceed to the historical description of the country.

* From this animal, Hesiod tells us the Greeks derive the origin of their Sphinx: hence Bellerophon, Pegasus, and the Sphinx, occur frequently in the sculptures and on the coins of Lycia. The coins of Grecian Lycia, however, present the head and emblems of Apollo, whose worship in later times generally prevailed through the whole country.

† See also HOMER, *Il.* vi.

Lycia is a maritime province of Asia Minor, of peculiar interest, whether it be with respect to its historical records, or for the remarkable contrast of its past and prosperous condition with its fall and present desolation. Lycia was the ancient Mylias, bounded on the north by Phrygia, on the east by Pamphylia, on the west by Caria, and on the south by the Mediterranean. Xanthus was the capital, on the banks of the river of the same name. During the period of ancient civilization, this region was greatly populated. In the time of Pliny there were thirty-six cities in Lycia, and before that period there were thrice that number.

The most ancient notice we have of the people of Lycia is furnished by Homer and Herodotus. They were courageous and valiant warriors, and especially renowned for their dexterity in throwing the dart, and in the handling of their arms. The prince of poets frequently mentions the name of Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, who signalized himself in the war of Troy against the Greeks: and he also records the deeds of Sarpedon, king of Lycia, and of Glaucus, who came to the assistance of the Trojans,* “bringing with him numerous squadrons from a great distance, from Lycia and the winding Xanthus.” Herodotus tells us, that the city of Xanthus was originally peopled by the Cretans, who, according to the common tradition, founded a small kingdom under the government of Sarpedon; this colony being a different one from that which he had formerly sent into Asia Minor, when he had ineffectually contested the crown with his brother Minos, king of Crete. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, joined Sarpedon at Termilæ, and succeeded him as king, and from him the country was called Lycia.

Defended by its fastnesses, and the bravery of its inhabitants, Lycia had constantly maintained its independence; but on the death of Cræsus, Cyrus turning his attention to

* HOMER, *Il.* v.

Asia Minor, sent an expedition to bring it into subjection. After reducing Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, and incorporating them with his armies, Harpagus marched immediately to the plains of Lycia, and proceeded to the capital. As Herodotus gives us so clear an account of his proceedings, we will quote it in his own words:—

“When Harpagus moved his army to the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians drew out their forces, few against the many, and gave proof of the greatest valour; but being overcome in battle, and driven back into the city, they collected into the citadel their wives, children, servants, and treasures; then setting fire to the citadel, the whole were consumed. This done, they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths; when, sallying forth and fighting valiantly, all the Xanthians were cut to pieces. The Lycians who at the present time claim to be Xanthians are all foreigners, excepting eighty families, who at that time happened to be abroad, and so they survived. Thus Harpagus gained possession of Lycia, and in a similar manner he possessed himself of Caunus, for the Caunians, for the greater part, imitated the Lycians.”*

Every incident here narrated we find depicted in the sculptures of this monument, which thus becomes of twofold interest; interesting from its characters as a work of art, and from its accordance with and corroboration of ancient history. Thus in the larger frieze of the pedestal, we have the general battle of horse and foot, “the fight of the few against the many.” In this spirited composition we may distinguish a style totally distinct from, and much more advanced than, the Archaic style of Lycian art, and nearly approaching the compositions of the Phigalean frieze, but not so correct in their proportions. The artist has illustrated this part of the composition with such incidents as are consequent to a general battle, and which add to its spirit and interest. Thus, in one of the sculptures

* HEROD., i. 176.

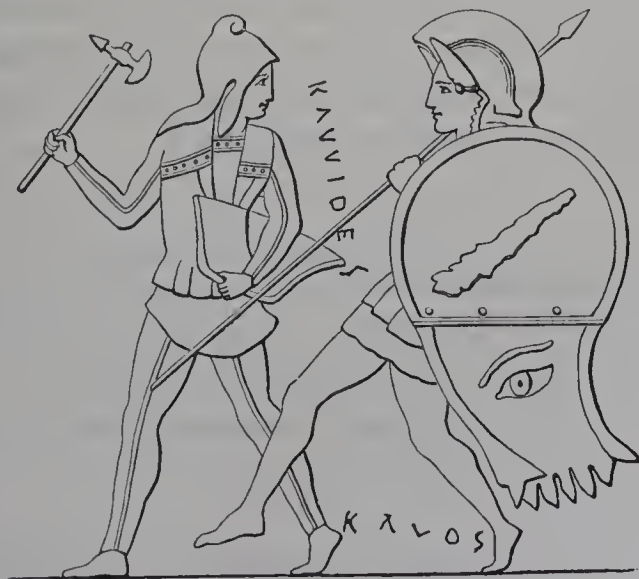
we see a Greek soldier who has struck his lance through the head of a Lycian. He has placed his foot on the prostrate foe, and is drawing back his lance, notwithstanding the resistance of his unhappy victim: an incident which I do not remember to have seen in any other ancient bas-relief, though we meet with similar incidents in the poets.

“Fierce from his knees the hapless chief he thrust,
The monarch’s javelin stretch’d him in the dust,
Then pressing with his foot his panting heart,
Forth from the slain he tugg’d the reeking dart.”

HOMER, *Il.* vi. 61.

An interesting peculiarity exhibited in these sculptures is afforded by the circumstance, that several of the figures carry shields, to which is attached a piece of dependent drapery. A similar appendage is frequently seen on the painted vases, but this is the only instance among the bas-reliefs of antiquity in which it is represented.

In a beautiful Greek vase published by Inghirami, we have an Amazon leading a Greek warrior, which, as explained by Millingen, represents Antiope leading Theseus to the walls of Thesmiscyra. To the shield of Theseus is attached this pendent drapery, on which an eye is painted in strong lines. It is fixed



to the shield by a bar and rivets, precisely in the manner indicated in the bas-reliefs.

This appendage* may probably have been made of leather, with the eye painted upon it as an emblem of vigilance. On many parts of the sculptures before us we have faint traces of painted lines, and I doubt not the eye has been indicated upon these shields, although no trace of colour is now to be found.

We have three instances of its representation in these sculptures: one occurs in the large frieze already mentioned, the others in the smaller frieze. It is borne by a Lycian, heading a sally from the gate of the besieged city, and it distinguishes one of the chiefs assembled before Harpagus. From these circumstances, we may conclude that they were the badges of leaders, (στρατηγοί,) or officers; and that Theseus is thus distinguished as being the leader of the Grecian army.

The subject of the larger frieze appears, from the space allotted to it, to have been judged of greater consequence than the other bas-reliefs, the broad band being equal to the upper band and cornice together.† This upper series contains the incidents consequent on the termination of the war.

The principal group is that of Harpagus, in the act of dictating terms to the Lycian chiefs. He is represented seated on his throne, with his feet reposing on a footstool. An attendant holds an umbrella over his head, a well-known eastern and Persian emblem of authority.‡

* I find that Prof. Welcker and Mr. Birch have identified it with the *λαισίον*. It is mentioned by Homer, *Il.* v. 453, and Herod., xii. v. 426. It is always applied to Barbarians or Asiatic Greeks: Cf. MÜLLER, *Arch. der Kunst.*, § 342, n. 6. The covering is a raw hide: its use was to protect the lower limbs from arrows or stones. Herod. (vi. 91) mentions its use by the Cilicians.

† Or it may have been selected from the more artistic flowing of the lines produced by men and horses in varied action; or from the difficulty of representing the many incidents indicated in the upper row, were the frieze to have been increased in height.—ED.

‡ The princes are thus distinguished in the sculptures of Persepolis.



On his head he wears the cap which is commonly called Phrygian, and which may show the common intercourse which these nations had with each other. Something similar is described by Strabo, xv. 3: and the same cap is seen on the group of the Persian Mithra.

Behind Harpagus are the principal leaders of the Grecian allies, and before him stand the Lycian chiefs, recognisable by their dress and long hair, as described by Strabo. The action of Harpagus is dignified and severe. His right arm is elevated, and he appears to be dictating his terms to them as a conqueror. The action of the Lycian chiefs, on the other hand, is simple, natural, and noble: though vanquished, they stand firm, and answer the Persian general with dignity and composure.

In another compartment are four Lycian prisoners, with their hands tied behind them, and conducted by soldiers in front and rear. As their backs are turned from the city, they may have been separated from their countrymen in their hasty retreat to the gates, and thus made prisoners.

The next compartment represents the taking of the city, the representation of which perfectly resembles the peculiar architecture of this country. Soldiers are seen mounting the scaling ladders;* others, kneeling down, hold the ropes which

* Engines for sieges were invented and used in the East many years before the Greeks of Europe appear to have had any knowledge of them.

fasten the ladders to the walls; while others, again, crouch behind their shields, to protect themselves from the missiles thrown by the besieged. The conception is spirited, and each figure in energetic and appropriate action.

In another, we have the sally from the gates. The Lycians are led, as has been before mentioned, by the figure with the *λαισιήϊον*. The Xanthians appear to be throwing stones, such stones as are described by Homer:—

Οἱ δ' ἄρα χερμαδίοισιν εὐδμήτων ἀπὸ πύργων
Βαλλον

Il. xii. 154.

This sally brings us to the great and last catastrophe of the war, so well described by Herodotus—"When sallying forth and fighting valiantly, all the Xanthians were cut to pieces."

The principal compartments of the bas-reliefs on the basement of the monument being now described, we proceed to speak of the statues which adorn the intercolumniations of the peristyle. A very ingenious idea has been published,* appropriating these statues to the Nereids; but however plausible such an hypothesis may appear, it destroys the connexion of the monument with the history of its erection, and dispels that unity and harmony which are so conspicuous in all the works of the great artists of antiquity, and for which they are so justly and greatly admired.

Now, as we have seen that the fall of Xanthus, and the consequent subjection of Lycia, is represented on these bas-reliefs,—then, that the statues of the peristyle must be subservient and relative to the same event, will be equally clear, when we take into consideration the universal custom of the ancients of erecting trophies in memorial of their conquests. Jealous lest oblivion should throw her dark veil over their exploits, they were ever anxious to hand down testimonials of their valour to their latest posterity.

* *Xanthian Marbles: the Nereid Monument*, by WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD, (8vo, Pickering, 1845,) the merits of which we cannot here discuss.—ED.

At first their trophies were formed of the arms taken from the enemy on the field of battle. Afterwards they became more costly in their substance, and were erected of more permanent materials, as stone or marble.

These statues having each a distinct and separate emblem at their feet, as a fish, a dolphin, a crab, a dove, a snake, a shell, &c., gives them at once a positive and definite character. Believing, then, these emblems to be peculiar attributes, I look upon the statues as personifications of the cities and people of Ionia and Æolia, who furnished the contingents to augment the army of Harpagus,* and conjointly with whom he conquered the Xanthians. This opinion I will endeavour to establish by reference to the coins of these cities, these affording the surest data by which we may obtain information.

MILETUS.



On the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, the Milesians alone, of all the Ionians, were received into alliance by Cyrus, and as allies they must have rendered essential aid in the conquest of Lycia.

The city of the Milesians was the capital of Ionia: it was founded by Miletus the Cretan, and we find several medals struck to his honour; this being one of the few cities whose

* The name of Harpagus being given to a Median prince has been matter of surprise to some, it being a word of pure Greek origin, if it be not a Hellenized equivalent for this name in the Persian. I am inclined to believe that as it was the custom, particularly of the eastern nations, for their princes to assume epithets and titles taken from their divinities, or from some remarkable circumstance, it might be an epithet assumed by the lieutenant of Cyrus, who might have styled himself the *rapacious* or *exterminating sword*. The custom was very prevalent among the Greeks in early times, as Homer constantly applies various titles both to the gods and heroes.

† A silver Drachm. Brit. Mus.

founders are known by the coins or medals struck in commemoration of the event. The Milesians eventually rose to such eminence, that they founded upwards of eighty cities in different places, chiefly maritime.

The city was famous for the Oracle and Temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ. It was burnt by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt with such extraordinary magnificence, that, from the testimony of Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that in the erection of this monument Miletus should hold a conspicuous position. The Branchidæan Apollo was the protecting deity of the Milesians, who, among other various names, as we are informed by Strabo, called him *Salutiferus*, regarding him as the protecting and healing god: whence, having the same attributes, he is easily confounded with his son Æsculapius.*

The figure of Apollo occurs on the coins of Miletus, on the reverse of which is a lion, an emblem of the people. In the Museum San Clementi are two coins of this city: one has a figure of Apollo with his bow in his left hand, and apparently holding a stag in his right: on the disk are seen the two initial letters of the name of the city, M I, (the I being placed in the middle of the M,) and on the reverse a lion, with an inscription beneath, probably the name of a magistrate. On the other is the head of Apollo, and on the reverse a lion, near the mane of which are the initials, M I, of the city. With the assistance of Strabo and Spanheim, we may explain the snake or serpent†

* Vide SPANHEIM, *De Præst. et Usu Numm.*

† The only instance we can find of a serpent appearing as an emblem of this city, is in Mionnet: "—— NEPΩN Tête laurée de Néron à gauche. R — EΠI . TI . MIAHTOC. Miletus en habit militaire, debout, entre deux proues de vaisseau, tourné à gauche: il tient de la main droite une épée, autour de laquelle est un serpent, et de la gauche une lance transversale."—MIONNET, *Suppl. Ionie*, No. 1252. Mr. Gibson, to whom we have communicated this coin, considers it interesting, in showing the connexion between the worship of Apollo and the adoration of the sun by the ancient Assyrians, whom they represented as holding a sword.—ED.

at the feet of one of the statues as having direct reference to the city of Miletus; while the lions which occupy the end intercolumniations may, by the help of the coins, be shown to refer to the Milesian people.

As the ancients were greatly attached to their early symbols, and regarded them with reverential and religious veneration, they constantly adhered to the primitive type in representing them, a circumstance which may account for the Archaic style of these animals.

PHOCÆA.



Phocæa was the first of the Ionian cities which fell into the hands of Harpagus. Herodotus narrates that the Phocæans were unwilling to submit to his yoke, and determined to defend their liberties to the utmost. Being hard pressed, they demanded a day to consider of his terms, which Harpagus granted, though he professed to know their intention in asking it. The Phocæans fled by sea, leaving their town empty, and binding themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa till a large red hot mass of iron, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. But during the voyage the greater part of them were seized with such regret at leaving their former and ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa,† and, submitting to the invader, must also have increased his army with their contingents.

On several of the coins of Phocæa we find a wolf seizing a fish, as represented in the above woodcut. Hardouin was the first to point out this fish to be the phoca. Though some

* A Greek Imperial Coin. Brit. Mus. † Autonomous Coin. Brit. Mus.
‡ HEROD., i. 164-5.

numismatists have disputed it, his opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Stephanus Byzantinus, who says:—"The Ionian city, Phocæa, was so called because many phocæ followed the founders;" and Sistiunus shows that this fish is the dog-fish, which abounds in those seas. The wolf is said to have been regarded by the Egyptians as the emblem of the course of the sun, and the animal was also dedicated to Apollo, or the sun, by the Greeks. Macrobius says the year was anciently called by the Greeks *λυκάβαντα*, which Pier. Valeriano derives from *λύχω*, signifying a wolf.

The letter L occurs on several medals, and has been mostly taken as a numeral by the older numismatists; but as the Greeks adopted two forms of the *λαμβδα*, the *Λ* and the *L*, and this last form is used on coins for the word *Λυκάβαντος*, the year, so the wolf on this coin may refer to the year when the colony was founded; or as the inhabitants of these coasts were expert mariners, and occupied with fisheries, it might refer to the time of year when these fisheries took place, for something of the kind is intimated by *Ælian** as having existed on the lake *Mæotis*, at a place called *Canopium*.

COS.



When Harpagus had subdued the Ionians on the continent, the inhabitants of the islands, terrified at the fate of their brethren, immediately submitted.

In the statue with the crab at her feet, we have the emblem of the Island of Cos. This island was anciently known by

* V. H., vi. 65.

† A silver Tetradrachm. Brit. Mus.

various name, as Cea, Staphylus, Nymphæa, and Meropis.* It contained a very celebrated temple of Æsculapius, as also an equally celebrated and more ancient one of Juno, concerning which Theodorus wrote a treatise.† The crab was dedicated to this divinity, and was by her placed among the constellations.‡ Hence the crab occurs frequently on the coins of this island. Mionnet gives seventeen such coins, bearing the head of Hercules with the lion's skin, and the crab on the reverse. Sometimes they are seen with a figure of Apollo before a tripod, and on the reverse a crab; and, again, with a female head, and on the reverse a crab; with a club placed horizontally, and the name of a magistrate beneath. The crab also appears on the coins of Agrigentum, that city being a colony of Cos.

MYRINA ÆOLIDIS.



A maritime town of Æolia, and named by Herodotus as one of the eleven cities of Æolia.

Two cities of this name are met with in ancient authors,—one in the Isle of Lemnos, which was noted for the shadow of Mount Athos falling into its forum when the sun was in the solstice, and the other this Æolian town of Herodotus. Strabo§ says that it derived its name from Myrina, an Amazon.

A coin attributed to the city represents a *dolphin*, beneath which is a trident, with the inscription MYP. From this animal, therefore, we may conclude that the city of Myrina is represented by the statue which has a dolphin at her feet.

* THUC., viii. 41.

† VITR., lib. vii.

‡ HYG., *Poet. Astr.*

§ Lib. xiii.

PYRNU.S.



This city of Caria is noticed by Stephanus. It is mentioned by Pliny:† by some it is also called Urnus. On the coins of Pyrna a head of Apollo in full is seen, and on the reverse a marine shell.

So little is said about this city by ancient authors, that scarcely more than the name can be determined.

Grynea is mentioned by Herodotus after he names Myrina. Stephanus calls it a small town of the Cyrenians; but here the text is evidently corrupt, for instead of reading Γρύνοι Πολιχνιον Κυρηναίων, it should be, according to Strabo,‡ Πολιχνιον Μυρναίων. He says,—“then Grynea, a small town of the Myrineans, which had a temple of Apollo built of fine white stone, and an ancient Oracle, known as the Grynean Apollo.” In the time of Pliny there only remained the port. On the coins of this city are found the head of Apollo in front, with the crown of laurel, and on the reverse the inscription ΓΥΡ, and the emblem of the city, a marine bivalve shell.§ From this shell we are enabled to appropriate another of the statues.

CNIDUS.



The Cnidians were a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territory occupied the peninsula called Triopium. On the north they

* An Autonomous copper Coin. Brit. Mus.

† *H. N.*, v. 28. ‡ *Lib.* xiii.

§ It is the *Pinna*, a molluscous animal of the conchiferous class.—ED.

were bounded by the bay of Ceramus, and on the south by the sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes.

It was while under apprehension of being attacked by Harpagus that they purposed converting this promontory to an island, but were dissuaded from so doing by the Oracle, which said:—

“Nor build, nor dig: for wiser Heaven
Had, were it best, an island given.”

The city of Cnidus was famous for the worship of Venus, and it became still more celebrated, at a later period, from possessing one of the finest works of Praxiteles,—his statue of Venus.

The worship of Venus was very ancient, and long prevalent in the East, especially among the Assyrians. The name they gave her was Mylitta. She was worshipped under the title of Urania, or the Divine, and considered to be the general principle of vivifying life. But in the transition of her worship to the Greeks this idea was soon lost sight of, and she became the goddess of love and pleasure.

The dove was sacred to her, and the Babylonians held her in especial reverence. They adopted the dove as their national emblem, and placed it on their standards. Thus, in Jeremiah,* we read in the Vulgate:—“Their land was made desolate by the face and wrath of the dove.”

From this place her worship appears to have extended to Ascalon, on the coins of which city we behold a female figure with an acrostolium in her left hand, an altar before her, and behind her a dove.

The worship of Venus next established itself in Asia Minor, and at Cnidus became very famous, in which city she had a splendid temple. It was open on every side, so that the statue of the goddess could be seen perfectly from every point of view.

* xxv. 38.

From Cnidus her worship passed to Troas, and from thence to Erix in Sicily, where she had a magnificent temple: and here doves were held as sacred as they were either in Palestine or Syria. Two days in the year were kept as solemn festivals; the one called *Αναγωγή*, or the Departure, at which time, as the doves had disappeared Venus was supposed to depart over sea and leave the island; and the other, *Καταγωγή*, when it was believed she had returned, as a beautiful purple dove, considered to be the goddess herself, was observed to fly to the shrine of the goddess. On the coins of Erix are seen a head of Venus, and on the reverse a dove.

Another city in which Venus was especially worshipped was Aphrodisias. This city was under the jurisdiction of the Cnidians,* and we find on its coins a female figure with a dove.

From the foregoing, we may conclude that the female statue with the dove at her feet, represent Cnidus and her dependant towns.

On the coins of Cnidus we sometimes see a turreted head of the city, which has been mistaken for Cybele,† and on the reverse a lion, an emblem of the people, which may be represented, therefore, by one of the lions on the monument.

The remaining statues are not sufficiently perfect to allow of their emblems being sufficiently distinguished.

An objection will naturally be raised, that the ancients generally represented provinces and cities in sculpture as either standing, or sitting in a quiet posture. But it would appear that this was by no means an invariable rule with them; and it will be seen that both Greeks and Romans altered the representation of provinces and cities on their coins in various ways, as time and circumstances required. Some-

* Vide STEPH. BYZAN. *de Urb. a Tho. Pinedo*, Amst., 1678, p. 144.

† ECKHEL., 3, Nr. 219—6; Nr. 228—3, § 339; Nr. 202 to 213; Supp. 6—480; Nr. 213 to 225. A female head with a turreted crown: on the reverse, a lion's head. Mionnet gives seven other coins with the head of Venus, and on the reverse the half-figure of a lion, with the inscription, KNI. and KNIΔΙΩ.

times the city or province appeared in a more quiet and reposing attitude, and sometimes it was represented of a more warlike aspect.

On a medal of Hadrian we see Spain reclining in perfect repose, with an olive branch in her hand, the emblem of peace; the other arm resting on a rock. On one of the medals of Galba she is seen in a totally different costume, dressed nearly as an Amazon, extending her right hand, in form of alliance, to another figure, which from the inscription is Gaul: and on another medal of Hadrian she is seen in a more warlike aspect:—



*

In her right hand she holds ears of corn, as an emblem of the fertility of the soil; and on her left arm she carries a round shield and two javelins; whilst her drapery is flowing and agitated by the wind, as though she were moving in rapid motion, almost in the same manner as the statues of the Xanthian marbles.

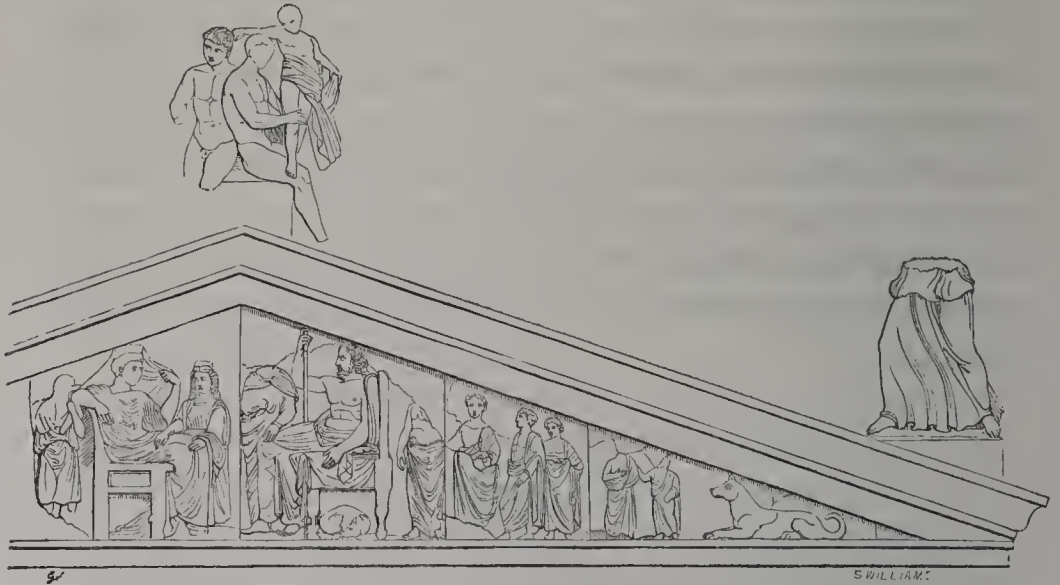
In a coin of Mostene, struck by L. Verus, we see the city, with her turreted crown, represented as an Amazon on horseback:† the motion represented in which may be intended to designate the migration of the Amazons from Thermodon to Phrygia, Æolia, Ionia, Lydia, &c., in which countries several cities were founded by them.

Having thus endeavoured to identify the statues of the peristyle with the several Greek cities which sent their contingent forces to the army of Harpagus, we have now to examine

* An Aureus of Galba. Brit. Mus.

† Amazons riding on horseback, says Oderici, are seen on other Greek coins; "but Amazons riding with a turreted head I do not remember to have seen, except on the coins of those cities which were founded by Amazons, and a turreted head is always an emblem of the city."—*Numismata Græca*, p. 26.

whether the sculpture in the pediment has any connexion with the subject represented in the lower part of the monument.



In the centre of the eastern pediment we see a male and female figure sitting opposite to each other, with an attendant standing on each side of them. The difference in size between the principal figures and their attendants is a sufficient evidence of their representing divinities. This custom of representing the gods of colossal size was borrowed by the Greeks from Egypt, in order to give a more supernatural and elevated idea of the nature of the gods.

Thus, in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, v. 516, we have the following description of the shield of Achilles. In one compartment of the shield is represented a city at war, with Mars and Minerva leading out the youths to battle:—

“They marched, by Pallas and by Mars made bold,
Gold were the gods, their radiant garments gold,
And gold their armour, these the squadrons led
August, divine, superior by the head.”

The words are more expressive in the original—

Οἱ δ' ἴσαν, ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
Ἄμφω χρυσεῖω, χρύσεια δὲ εἵματα ἔσσην,
Καλὼ καὶ μεγάλῳ σὺν τεύχεσιν, ὥστε θεῶ περ,
Ἄμφις ἀριζήλῳ λαοὶ δ' ὑπολίζονες ἦσαν.

It was in this manner that the gods were invariably represented in the time of Homer, and several Greek bas-reliefs might be cited in proof of this assertion. Zoega, indeed, is of opinion that this custom was even more prevalent among the Greeks than among the Romans.*

The male deity is seated on the right hand, leaning his arm on a sceptre. Opposite to him is the female divinity, with a diadem on her head, and veiled. Before her is a priestess, whose two hands are placed upon the knees of the goddess, in the action of praise and thanksgiving. We have no difficulty in recognising by these traits the attributes of Juno. The former figure must then represent Jupiter. A priest stands in like manner in front of him, and places his hands on the knees of the divinity. The attribution of these figures to Jupiter and Juno will be considered satisfactory, when we reflect that the edifice itself, being of the nature of a military trophy, was held sacred, and consequently dedicated to Jupiter and Juno, both of whom, as we are informed by Lycophron, had the title of *Triumphalis*. Again, the Samians who were anciently called Leleges, were especial worshippers of Juno, who, according to the myths, was born and educated among them.

Jupiter was so universally worshipped by the Carians, that he was especially named the Carian Jupiter. (HEROD., i. 171, v. 66.) The Carians had a celebrated and very ancient temple erected to his honour at Mylassa; and on the coins of Milyas of Pisidia he is seen seated with a spear in his hand, exactly as we see him in the pediment of this monument—he is as usual half-naked, the knees clothed with his pallium.

Beneath his throne is a dog sleeping; another dog is placed in the angle of the pediment, and there was probably a corresponding one in the other angle. Now these dogs alone are

* ZOEGA, tom. i. p. 73.

sufficient evidence to show that the edifice was erected by the Carians; for Hesychius, Diogenianus, and Arnobius, inform us that it was the custom of the Carians to offer dogs in sacrifice, and indeed that they were proverbial among the Greeks for so doing. This custom was probably derived from Crete and Asia, for we find that in the island of Crete dogs were dedicated to Jupiter, and a golden image of a dog was placed in his temple.* The dog was held in great veneration by the Persians, and the image of a dog was carried in battle as a standard by the Egyptians.†

Dogs were not unfrequently employed in war, as by the Colophonians and Magnesians; and thus, as the dog was so much used in this portion of Asia, both for sacrifices and in war, its appearance is easily accounted for in the pediment of this monument.

The placing of the hands on the knees being an act of prayer and thanksgiving, the subject of the pediment of this monument is the priest of the Carian Jupiter and the priestess of Juno returning thanks for the victory and triumph obtained over the Lycians.

Herodotus affirms that the Carians first inhabited the islands, and that they were driven from them by the Dorians and Ionians; and he tells us that he derived this information from Crete.‡ This relation was denied by the Carians, for they declared themselves to have been always inhabitants of the continent; in proof of which they showed at Mylassa their ancient temple of Carian Jupiter, the joint privileges of whose worship they permitted to the Lydians and Mysians alone, as having one common origin with themselves. According to the tradition of the Carians, Lydus, Misus, and Carcs, their founders, were three brothers, and thus the use of this temple was granted to their descendants.

* ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, xxxvi. 56. Edit. 1568.

† DIOD. SIC., lib. 1.

‡ HEROD., i. 171.

To confirm, then, as it were, their early tradition, and to make it a national trophy, they placed the statues of Lydus, Misus, and Cares on the apex of the pediment. As Cares is last named, he may be the youngest, who is represented as held up on the knees of his brother.

The bas-reliefs occupying the place of frieze and architrave, represent hunting and battle scenes. On one part of the frieze we see both Persians and Greeks bringing their offerings. The Persians are recognised by their costume, and their offerings consist of dresses, tapestry, &c., whilst those of the Greeks are of goats and kids. It was customary for the soldier, when he had finished his campaigns, to make an offering, and dedicate his arms to the god of war, and those who spent time in hunting also brought their offerings to the gods. The Greeks were accustomed to offer goats to Juno, on which account she was denominated *Αιγοφάγος*.

A cella being attached to this edifice, gives it the appearance of having been erected also as a sepulchral heroum. Since it was the practice of the Persian kings to confer the government of a conquered province on the general who conquered it, and make him satrap, there can be little doubt but that Harpagus was made governor of this part of Lower Asia; and from him it probably descended to his family. The inscription on the stele at Xanthus speaks of a son of Harpagus,* and we read of another of this name who defeated Histæus, the tyrant of Milesia, and sent his head to King Darius.†

As the exploits of Harpagus form so conspicuous a feature on this monument, it might have served as the family heroum; and if it may be permitted to conjecture, I should think it probable that it was erected about fifty years after the conquest of Lycia. This opinion appears supported by the circumstance, that the

* See SHARPE, *On the Inscriptions*, in *Appendix* to Sir C. FELLOWS' *Lycia*, 1840.

† Vide HEROD., vii. 29, 30.

monument was never finished; for in the bas-reliefs of the cella, which represent men on horseback, the outer legs only of the horses are executed, the two other legs being not even indicated; and this leads us to consider that the blocks were placed in their situation before finished by the sculptor.

The date of the conquest of Lycia by the Persians and their allies being about 550 years before the Christian era—then if, as is supposed, this monument were built about fifty years after that event, it would bring us to the year 500 before Christ, something more than half a century before the erection of the Temple of Apollo at Phigalia, and the Parthenon at Athens. This period will agree very well with the character of the sculpture, which evinces an absence of that compact and refined composition to be seen in the Elgin frieze; and again, the inaccuracy of the proportions observable in the shortness of the limbs of the figures, is a further proof of their early period of execution, which is as distinguishable from the correct proportions and elegant and refined taste which characterised the sculpture of the age of Phidias, as are the elongated forms and looser compositions, though spirited conceptions, of Scopas and his contemporaries, a century later, in the Boodroom marbles.

This monumental heroum of Xanthus seems to have stood through all the vicissitudes of Lycian history, until a late period of the Christian era; and to have apparently been thrown from its eminence by an earthquake, for the lead used in binding the marble blocks together was found intact. These regions of Asia appear to have been much subjected to the convulsions of nature. We read of twelve cities of Asia being overthrown in one night by an earthquake, in the reign of Tiberius. Pausanias mentions another earthquake, which happened in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and which overturned the cities of Lycia and Caria, and the islands of Cos and Rhodes; all of which the emperor restored at considerable expense. As Antoninus Pius reigned in the early part of the second century, it

would appear that it was not then destroyed. Though the monument might have been much injured, it must have been restored along with the other buildings, and its final destruction must have been at a much later period, for we find that Sir Charles Fellows carried his excavations through the debris of this fallen monument, and found a Christian village buried beneath the ruins of the structure, which had fallen upon it from the cliffs above; and in the course of excavation he discovered the crosses and remains of paintings which adorned its churches. These paintings could not have been executed till near the fourth century, for the first notice we have of the use of pictures, is a censure on this innovation, by the Council of Elvira, about three hundred years after the propagation of Christianity.*

Thus, then, the finding of these Christian pictures will carry us to the fourth century, as the era of its total ruin; for from this period up to the middle of the fifth century, a series of the most terrible convulsions of nature seems to have devastated the whole of the eastern parts of the Roman empire. Zosimus gives us a relation of the terrible earthquake which was felt throughout the greater portion of the Roman dominions in

* As the seeds of the gospel had been planted in these regions by the zealous and unceasing labours of the great apostle of the Gentiles, and carefully watered and cultivated by his disciples and their followers, so, at the end of the second century, a vast number of professing Christians were found to abound in the country which extended from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea. Being surrounded by the corrupt practices and superstitions of paganism, they were anxious to preserve the doctrines of Christianity as pure as they had received them; and they looked with a cautious and jealous eye on the introduction of pictures within the precincts of their churches, as a too near approach to paganism. Thus, we find that when Diocletian issued his edict for the suppression of Christianity, on the 23rd of February, A.D. 303, at the early dawn of that day the Prætorian prefect proceeded to the cathedral church of Nicomedia, attended by his generals, tribunes, and revenue officers, when, breaking open the doors, and rushing into the sanctuary, and diligently searching in vain for some visible object of public worship, they seized the volumes of the Holy Scriptures, and committed them to the flames.

Asia, in the second year of Valerian and Valens, A.D. 365, when the island of Crete, the Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece, except Athens, were violently shaken; and a little before this, the cities of Palestine, together with Nicomedia, and the other cities of Bithynia, had been overwhelmed by a similar calamity: mountains were overturned, and much damage done to the public monuments and edifices through the countries of Macedonia, Asia, and Pontus.*

BENJAMIN GIBSON.

ROME, 1847.

* AMM. MARCEL., xvii. 13.

XV.

ON THE MAUSOLEUM, OR SEPULCHRE OF
MAUSOLUS, AT HALICARNASSUS.

“ Si aprono degli scavi nelle vecchie città per rinvenire monumenti da illustrare, e si scartabellano i classici per arricchire di erudizioni le illustrazioni. E perchè non faremo noi una specia di scavo negli stessi libri onde ci venga fatto il descrivere le fabbriche, di cui gli autori ci portano i documenti? Di quante grandiose opere, egizie, greche, romane, ci si accennano le situazioni, le misure, gli ornamenti, e tante altre circostanze che combinate, e messe in ordine a uso di arte, ce le farebbero vedere cogli occhi, e quasi palpare colle mani?”—MARQUEZ.

AMONG the various architectural themes which have engaged the thoughts of scientific and learned writers, as the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Diana, the Tomb of Porsenna, Pliny's Villas, or the restoration of Vitruvius' description of a Greek or Roman house, none has attracted such general attention, of late, as the Mausoleum, or Sepulchre of Mausolus—an interest which is greatly to be attributed to our having lately come in possession of the bas-reliefs which are supposed to have formed a portion of this celebrated structure. The following Essay was written at the close of 1847, shortly after the restoration of the monument by Professor Cockerell was published in Mr. Newton's *Memoir*;^{*} but owing to various circumstances it has been set aside till the present time. Since that period two other theories have been propounded, the authors of which, like myself and all who have preceded us, feel confident in the accuracy of their own individual conception; and I am induced to give diagrams of these two designs, in order to show in how many different manners the same words may be interpreted.

^{*} *On the Sculptures of Halicarnassus*, by CHARLES NEWTON, Esq., M.A., in the *Classical Museum*, v. 170, April, 1847; to which the reader is referred for much interesting matter connected with this subject.

I must first put my readers in possession of the particulars on which these theories are founded. In the twenty-sixth book of Pliny's *Natural History*, we read:—

“Scopas habuit æmulos eadem ætate Bryaxin et Timotheum,
 “et Leocharem, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter
 “cælavere *Mausoleum*. *Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia*
 “*factum* Mausolo Cariæ regulo, qui obiit Olympiadis centesimæ
 “sextæ anno secundo. Opus id ut esset inter septem miracula,
 “ii maxime artifices fecere. Patet ab austro et septentrione
 “sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a frontibus, toto circuitu pedes
 “quadringentos undecim; attollitur in altitudinem viginti
 “quinque cubitis; cingitur columnis triginta sex. Pteron vo-
 “cavere. Ab oriente cælavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxis, a
 “meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares; priusque quam pera-
 “gerent regina obiit. Non tamen recesserunt, nisi absoluto jam,
 “id gloriæ ipsorum artisque monumentum judicantes; hodieque
 “certant manus. Accessit et quintus artifex. Namque supra
 “pteron pyramis altitudine inferiorem æquavit viginti-quatuor
 “gradibus in metæ cacumen se contrahens. In summo est
 “quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis. Hæc adjecta centum
 “quadraginta pedum totum opus æquavit.’

One of the two writers I have referred to is M. Texier, the eminent architect sent out by the French government to conduct the architectural exploration of Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. He is now appointed *Conservateur des Monumens* in Algeria; and, having seen the ruins of an extraordinary monument near Constantina, he became impressed with the conviction that it presents to us the true type of the celebrated mausoleum. The following report of a lecture delivered by M. Texier, before the *Société Libre des Beaux-Arts*, in Paris, is copied from *La Tribune des Artistes*:*—

“There is in the neighbourhood of Algiers a tumulus called

* *Journal publié sous les auspices, et avec la collaboration de la Société, par JAQUEMENT.*

the Tomb of the (female) Christian, (Koub er Rommah,) because a cross appeared to be recognisable in a panel by the side of the door. The monument, in all probability, served at one time to receive the mortal remains of the kings of Mauritania. At Medraun, to the south of Constantina, the tomb of Syphax is likewise in the form of a tumulus. Under the Romans, the tumulus-construction acquired a greater regularity, as in the tombs of Augustus and Hadrian, which are circular in plan, and covered with a conical roof. The form of these monuments might enable us to reconstruct, after the description by Pliny, the tomb raised in the city of Halicarnassus to Mausolus by his queen, Artemisia. But, in truth, the text which relates it has been *evidently altered*, and the difficulty, therefore, consists in correcting (cancelling) what has been added, at the same time that we observe scrupulously the particulars given to us by Pliny himself.*

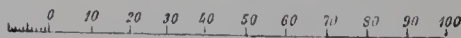
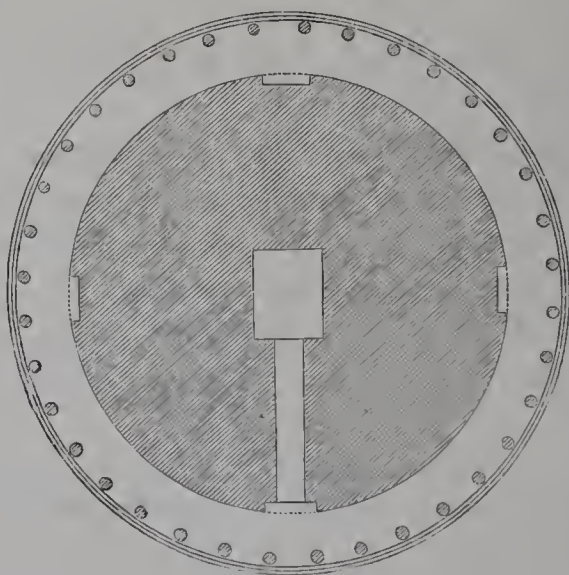
“ The lecturer remarked that the restorations of this monument, as M. Quatremère de Quincy had observed, were more and more approaching to reality, as Greek art had become more understood. It is, therefore, as in possession of a fresh element that M. Charles Texier now comes forward to investigate this question; and this element consists in the knowledge of the general form of Greek tombs, and in particular of those of Syphax and of the Christian.

“ The Lecturer then described the former of these tombs, which consists of a circular basement of 54 metres 70 centimetres (179 feet 6 inches); at the four cardinal points four doors are feigned, with their architraves and cornices. The basement is surrounded by sixty† columns of Greek architecture (Doric). It rises from the ground with two steps, and above the colonnade

* “ En effet, le texte dont il s'agit a été évidemment altéré, et toute la difficulté pour arriver à la vérité consiste à corriger l'interpolation, tout en respectant les termes principaux de l'auteur.”

† Count Caylus's drawing represents it with three steps, twenty-four columns, a pyramid of fifty steps, and domed within.—*Mem. de Littérature de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, tome xxvi. Confronted with this account, the “twenty-four steps” and the “curved meta-like roof” appear to want authenticity.

is a pyramid (cone) composed of twenty-four steps, and which is curved towards the top in the form of a Roman meta. On the summit is a platform which appears to have been decorated with a quadriga or a statue. The total height is 18 metres (59 feet). This description, translated into Latin, would exactly correspond with the text of Pliny, and would be nearly identical with it in respect to the dimensions, except that, from the use of the word *pteron*, the tomb of Mausolus must have been peripteral, whereas this is pseudo-peripteral. Now, how have commentators explained the difficulty which exists between the detail measurements given by Pliny and the total dimension (circumference) of the monument? Why, by supposing an area which never existed, and of which Pliny does not say one word, and by giving to the tomb itself a *mesquin* proportion, in opposition to all authority, which represents it as one of the most gigantic constructions of antiquity. Influenced by these considerations, M. Texier has felt obliged to dissent from the opinion of previous commentators, and, impressed with the appearance of the tombs of the Christian and of Syphax, he has given to the monument of Mausolus a circular, in lieu of a quadrilateral form."



By the foregoing notice, it will appear that M. Texier proposes a tumulus, girt about with a wall, and adorned with thirty-six columns, the total circumference of which shall be 411 feet. The height of the pyramid, or cone, would naturally be equal to the whole lower part of the monument, and so far he may be said to agree with Pliny. But as he does not refer to the total height of 140 feet, to the length of the longer side being 63 feet, or to the fact of the fronts being shorter than the sides, it would appear that he regards all these particulars as "interpolations." Of course he does not even notice Martial's epigram, and it would indeed require more than even the lively imagination of a Frenchman, to believe that a tumulus could ever appear as though "suspended in the heavens."

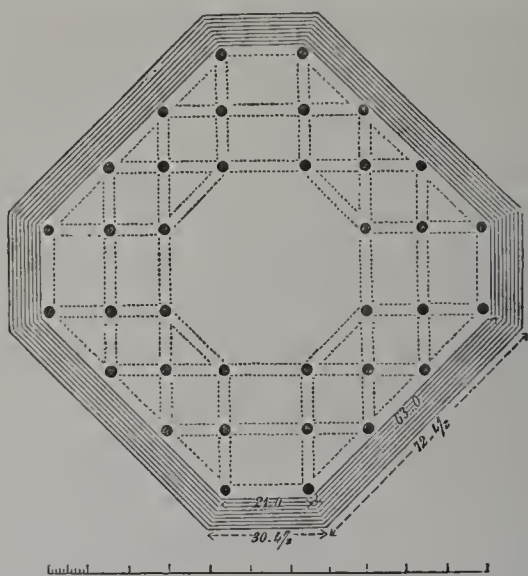
This objection cannot be laid against Mr. Fergusson's design,* for he makes his intercolumniations 17 feet in width. Impressed, in his travels in India, with the beauties of the architecture of that country, he begins by stating:—

"Out of some hundreds of designs for this building, no two resemble one another in hardly any particular, and no one either agrees with or reconciles the exigencies of the text. The knowledge, however, of the Indian connexion, coupled with the details of the monument at Mylassa, may help us to a solution of the riddle."

He then proceeds to knock away all former theories, previous to laying the foundation for his own structure.

"Besides, that a building of 63 feet wide in its greatest dimensions, and 140 feet high, is so awkward and ugly, and so unlike anything the ancients ever did, that I should have no hesitation in rejecting it on that account alone, if the context did not afford another and a more feasible mode of accounting for it."

* See *Historical Inquiry into the true Principles of Beauty in Art.* 8vo, Lond., 1849.



This done, he takes for his model the principle of construction adopted in the domes of Eastern architecture. Having placed eight columns in an octagon, he prolongs four sides of the octagon at pleasure, and marking off the width of an intercolumniation, he obtains any number of intersecting points for the centres of other columns. Thus, by adding two intercolumniations every way, he forms an outer octagon, the sides of which are in the ratio of 63 : 21. These sides are extended by steps till they make 72 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 30 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches—the total circumference thus amounting to 411 feet.

One objection to this design is the great width of the intercolumniations; but Mr. Fergusson observes—"This is certainly greater than any other building I am acquainted with; but *unless there were something extraordinary about it*, why was it one of the wonders of the world?"

Other objections might be urged, but Mr. Fergusson continues:

"It could be built; and I would undertake to execute it to-morrow, as I have restored it; and if carried out with purity and beauty in its details, I believe it would be a more beautiful mausoleum than has been erected in modern times, or *left us from antiquity*: while there is not one of the restorations hitherto produced which would not be only inartistic in itself, but most unlike any tomb or mausoleum in any part of the world."

Notwithstanding this derivation from the Indian dome, and the anachronism of the employment of the Corinthian capital, (though he suggests that the true capital for such a building would be the Indian bracket-cap,) he concludes:—

“I feel convinced that it” (his design) “is one that produces in every respect the text of Pliny, and at the same time satisfies the ethnographical as well as the artistic exigencies of the question, neither of which requisites are found in any of the preceding ones that I am acquainted with; and the only criticism I shall accept will be the production of a better.”

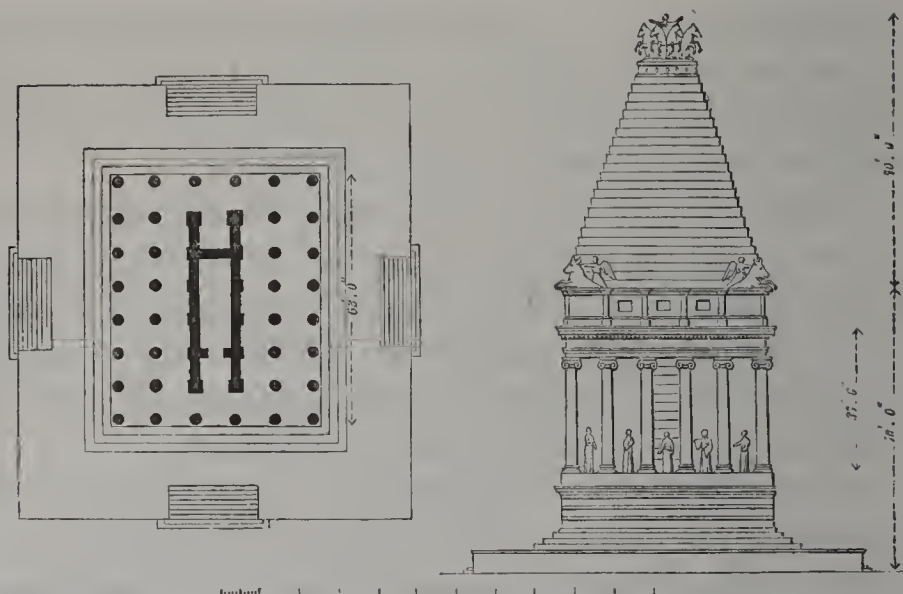
Among the hundred projects for the restoration of this monument, the design of Mr. Fergusson’s, considered in an “ethnographical” and chronological point of view, — to say nothing of its constructive or artistic merits,—is certainly not one of the least remarkable!

The two writers just quoted have been biassed by their travelled recollections. The one seeks his model in India—the other among the monuments of Algeria. I propose to found my restoration on the proportions of Greek architecture. So far am I from wishing to put forward some totally new idea, I begin by accepting the general features of a plan which has been already suggested.

With due deference to the opinion of the last writer, I consider that Professor Cockerell has been the first to render the plan of this monument intelligible, and to afford us the key for the restoration of the structure.

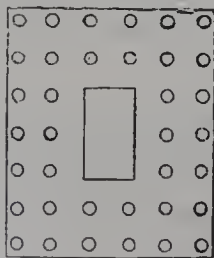
When a discovery is made, it seems extraordinary that no one had thought of it before: so, when Mr. Cockerell restored the mausoleum with a dipteral arrangement at the sides, it seemed wonderful that the various writers who had preceded him should have conceived such preposterous ideas as those embodied in their designs.

“The invention all admired, and each, how he
To be the inventor missed; so easy it seem’d
Once found, which yet, unfound, most would have thought
Impossible.”



Professor Cockerell, therefore, was the first who gave us any insight into the structure of this building; and to his discovery all future illustrators must stand indebted.

His plan has been since slightly modified by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, by completing the dipteral arrangement, and this amended plan I have unhesitatingly adopted as the basis of my design:—



On Mr. Lloyd's communicating to me his idea, that if the columns were disposed in a dipteral arrangement all round the tomb, it would be still more in character with Martial's description—

*"Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea
Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant—,"**

and yet preserve the same number of columns, I felt convinced of the probability of the arrangement, as well as of its beauty;

* MART. *de Spect.*, i. 5, 6.

and this probability* it will be my endeavour more clearly to show in the following pages by calculation, at the same time that I attempt to determine two other features of the design, by the discovery of a passage in an ancient author which has hitherto escaped attention.

THE type from which the mausoleum is derived is the tumulus of the heroic ages: the body was placed in the ground, and covered with a pile of earth or loose stones. Such are the monuments we so frequently read of in Homer and other ancient writers, and in the Sacred Scriptures; and

* Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's remarks were published in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, iii. p. 81*, the editor of which (Prof. Gerhard) thus notices them:—

“We have received a series of epistolary remarks by Mr. Lloyd, on Mr. Cockerell's restoration of the mausoleum. As M. Botticher and M. Strack have already done at the Berlin Archæological Society, so we find Mr. Lloyd strongly objects to the extreme length of the cella of Mr. Cockerell's design. Mr. Lloyd endeavours to remedy this awkwardness of plan by another distribution of the thirty-six columns, namely, by double rows of six columns in each front, and seven in each side. The whole plan thereby becomes more regular, the cella is reduced to the proportion of 2 : 1, and the porticoes appear freer and more passable, as the expression in Pliny, *cingitur columnis*, would seem to require. The difference of only one column between the front and sides agrees very well with the *brevius* of Pliny, and Mr. Cockerell has shown himself disposed to accept this distribution. Mr. Lloyd thus continues:—‘The analogy of the monuments of Mylasa, of Xanthus, and others of these Asiatic regions, make it probable that the peristyle rested upon a basement of considerable height. That part, therefore, of the total height of 140 feet, which in Mr. Cockerell's restoration is given to the attic, may perhaps be added to the basement, the height of which would thus become a suitable place for the sculptures of Leochares and his fellow artists. It is impossible, however, that the bas-reliefs brought over from Boodroom ever formed part of these celebrated works. Notwithstanding all their beauty, they have too many faults; their best parts are not above mediocrity; besides which, their dimensions and their probable appropriation render it unlikely that they occupied a position so near to the eye as that assumed to have been afforded by the podium. Perhaps the real sculptures of the podium may yet come to light by future excavations.

On the top of the mausoleum there might be formed a platform on which to place the quadriga, corresponding with the proportion of the cella. At the angles might perhaps be lions, as on the tombs named from the chimera and the winged chariot. Artemisia, and the worship of Artemis in that country (PAUS. iv. 31.) may have been the principal causes for decorating the mausoleum with Amazonian subjects. Further illustration of the peculiarities of the mausoleum may be derived from the analogy of numerous Syrian and neighbouring monuments of similar plan, among which Müller (*Achæol. der Kunst*, 151, 1.) has particularly brought forward that of the High Priest Simon (*Olymp.* 160; Jos. xiii. 6) with seven pyramids.’”

similar to these are the monuments or barrows we still see remaining in different parts of the world—in the plains of Tartary, and in the steppes of Russia,* and Bulgaria. But the most extraordinary structure of this description is the tumulus of Alyattes, within a few miles of ancient Sardis, and which Herodotus tells us† was upwards of six stadia in circuit. Adjoining this, among the hills, in a situation invisible from below, are countless tumuli, the forms of which are still quite perfect. The Turks call them *Bin-bir Teppi*, or the “Thousand-and-one Hills.” They form an unique example in this respect; tumuli, I believe, being in every other instance, like the pyramids in the desert,‡ placed in plains, that their form might be more striking to the eye. They will probably some day form a rich mine for the excavator: and, indeed, it is extraordinary that the tomb of Alyattes should have remained so long inviolate, considering the treasures, both of art and precious metal, which it is likely to contain.

The next process was to build an upright wall round the base of the tumulus, to prevent the earth from falling away. This feature we observe in the tomb of Alyattes, just referred to; in those of Tarquinia, of Cære, of Viterbo, of Tantalus on Mount Sipylus; in the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella, and in one at Antioch: and such a wall is described as forming part of the tombs of Ino at Megara,§ of CEnomaus in Elis,|| of Auge in Pergamus,¶ of Amphion at Thebes,** and of Æpytus in Arcadia:†† and it was added to the tumulus of Car, between Megara and

* In a journey from Petersburg to Odessa, on the second day after leaving Kieff I passed two such barrows; the next day, twenty-five; on the fourth day, forty—without counting those on the horizon, which in many parts seemed quite notched with them; on the fifth day, twelve; and on the sixth, eight. Their sizes varied from ten to forty feet in height. Those of Bulgaria are nearly as numerous.

† HEROD., i. 93.

‡ The view of St. Paul's from Greenwich, and, still more accurately, that of St. Peter's from the Campania, will give an idea of the appearance of the pyramids as seen from Cairo: all minor objects are merged in the horizon, and these alone seem raised above the soil.

§ PAUS., i. 42.

|| *Id.*, vi. 21.

¶ *Id.*, viii. 4.

** *Id.*, ix. 17.

†† *Id.*, viii. 16.

Corinth, in obedience to the order of an oracle.* This ornamenting and fortifying with stone was considered as an honorary distinction, as in the sepulchre of the sons of Medea.† Thus arose the type so frequently followed in after-times,‡ and of which the mausoleum is an instance, in which the tomb is in the form of a cube or circle, with a pyramid or cone at the top.

The style of architecture employed in the mausoleum must have been Ionic, for Ionic is the style generally adopted by the ancients for sepulchral purposes; besides which, although the earlier buildings in Asia Minor, as in Europe, were erected in the Doric style, as the temples at Miletus and Samos, the later edifices, including these very temples when re-erected after their conflagration by the Persians, were built in the Ionic style. Mausolus died in the same Olympiad as that in which Alexander the Great was born, and during his lifetime the Ionic temples at Ephesus and Priene were in course of erection, and the latter temple was consecrated by him.§ It is fair, therefore, to presume that the mausoleum at Halicarnassus would not only, like those temples, be in the Ionic style, but that it would likewise assimilate to them in the proportions and detail of that style.|| For this reason I have selected the Asiatic Greek examples as a model, in preference to the European.

Unfortunately, the temples of Asia are all in ruins (except Ephesus, the pride and glory of them all, which has disappeared). The buildings have perished, but in their fall they have raised

* PAUS., i. 44.

† *Id.*, ii. 3.

‡ Another instance occurs in the mausoleum of Augustus, the form of which was precisely similar. (STRABO, p. 236.)

§ As shown by an inscription still lying among the ruins.

|| The model for one of those columns of the Temple of Diana, which were ornamented with *cœlatura*, was executed by Scopas, the very same sculptor to whom the decoration of the eastern or principal face of the mausoleum was committed. This is, therefore, another argument for supposing that a similar proportion would be found in these buildings; especially when, as we shall presently see, (p. 170, note,) similar proportions were adhered to at neighbouring places and at similar epochs.

a pile, which is an everlasting monument of their grandeur. In their present confused mass, it is difficult to procure a plan, or to measure the proportions of the order—a detached cap, or a few scattered details, are all that can be obtained: but this very circumstance is interesting to us, when we consider that at some future period, like the ruined cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, they may become the means of disseminating the principles of beauty and of by-gone art. In consequence of this state of ruin, we do not possess satisfactory measurements of any one temple: we can neither determine the plan of the temple, nor set up its order: the difficulties that prevent the effecting of this can only be overcome by the liberality of an enlightened government.

The sculptures from Halicarnassus, now in the British Museum, presented by the Sultan to the British nation, through our ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, are generally believed to have formed the frieze of the mausoleum:* and it has been ingeniously proposed, *ex pede Herculem*, or, as Lucian says, from the claw-nail of Phidias's lion,† to set up the order from this datum. In so doing, however, we meet with a difficulty at the very outset. With one exception, which is too irregular to serve as a guide, we have no example of the Ionic frieze of an Asiatic Greek temple‡—the exception I refer to is the Propylæa of Priene, the architrave, frieze, (die only,) and cornice of which, including its bed-moulds and cyma, are in the relative proportion of—

·708 ·437 and ·956;

but the bed-moulds of the cornice very unusually predominate,

* A small fragment of a sculptured frieze has lately been brought from Halicarnassus by Captain Spratt, and has been supposed to have formed part of the mausoleum; but as its height is only eleven inches, and its style later than that of the larger slabs, it is probable that it belonged to some other monument.

† LUCIAN. *Hermot.*

‡ Those shown in the Dilettanti Society's works on Priene and Branchidæ are merely conjectural.

and thereby detract from the height of the frieze; probably so contrived on account of the latter having no sculpture.

We must calculate the frieze, therefore, from the proportions of European examples.

TABLE OF THE PROPORTIONS OF THE IONIC ORDER.—(HEIGHTS.)

European Examples.

	Height of col. in diameters.	Archi- trave.	Frieze.	Cornice.	Entablature.
Temple on the Ilissus . . .	8.238	.. .928	.. .825	.. .536	.. 2.289
Eastern Portico of the Erech- theum	9.334	.. .901	.. .854	.. .583	.. 2.338
Northern ditto	9.	.. .844	.. .795	.. .514	.. 2.153
Temple of Victory Apteros .	7.684	.. .894	.. .848	.. .845	.. 2.587
West front of Erechtheum .	9.004				
Mean . . .	8.652	.. .892	.. .830	.. .620	.. 2.342

Asiatic Examples.

					Without bed- moulds.
Priene: Temple of Minerva	—	.. .792	.. —	.. .798	
„ Propylæa	9.282	.. .708	.. —	.. .783	
Teos: Temple of Bacchus .	—	.. .727	.. —	.. .812	
Branchidæ:* Temple of	9.416†				
Apollo	10.101‡				
Mean . . .	—	.. .742	.. —	.. .798	

An examination of the foregoing proportions will show that the architrave of the Asiatic examples is very much shallower than that of the European, while the cornice, by the introduction of dentils and bed-mouldings, is proportionably increased. Accepting, then, the proportions of .742 for the architrave, and .798 for the cornice, exclusive of its bed-moulds; and calculating the height of the frieze from the

* In this table, I have omitted the architrave of the Temple at Branchidæ, which is .548, on account of the great disparity between it and the other Asiatic examples.

† TEXIER, *L'Asie Mineure*.

‡ Dilet. Soc.

architrave, in the ratio of 892 to 830, as in the European examples, we obtain $\cdot 690$ for the frieze of the mausoleum, which, being $2' 5\frac{1}{4}"$ in height, makes the diameter of the column equal to $3' 6\cdot 391"$.

The diameter of the column being thus established, we proceed to examine how it will apply to the plan:—

TABLE OF INTERCOLUMNIATIONS, ON FLANKS OF TEMPLES.*

<i>First Class: Doric.</i>		<i>Diameters.</i>
Selinus: Third Temple†		$\cdot 997$
„ Temple of Jupiter		$\cdot 999$
Syracuse: Temple of Minerva		$1\cdot 095$
Pæstum: Pseudo-dipteral Temple†		$1\cdot 104$
„ Temple of Ceres		$1\cdot 106$
Segesta		$1\cdot 105$
Selinus: Smaller Temple†		$1\cdot 106$
Pæstum: Third Temple		$1\cdot 146$
Agrigentum: Temple of Concord		$1\cdot 204$
„ „ Juno Lucina		$1\cdot 205$
Corinth		$1\cdot 235$
Mean		$1\cdot 117$
<i>Second Class.</i>		
Parthenon		$1\cdot 350$
Ægina		$1\cdot 407$
Thoricus		$1\cdot 426$
Eleusis: Temple of Ceres		$1\cdot 440$
Sunium: „ Minerva		$1\cdot 444$
Athens: „ Theseus		$1\cdot 573$
Rhamnus: „ Nemesis		$1\cdot 661$
Metapontum		$1\cdot 705$
Mean		$1\cdot 501$

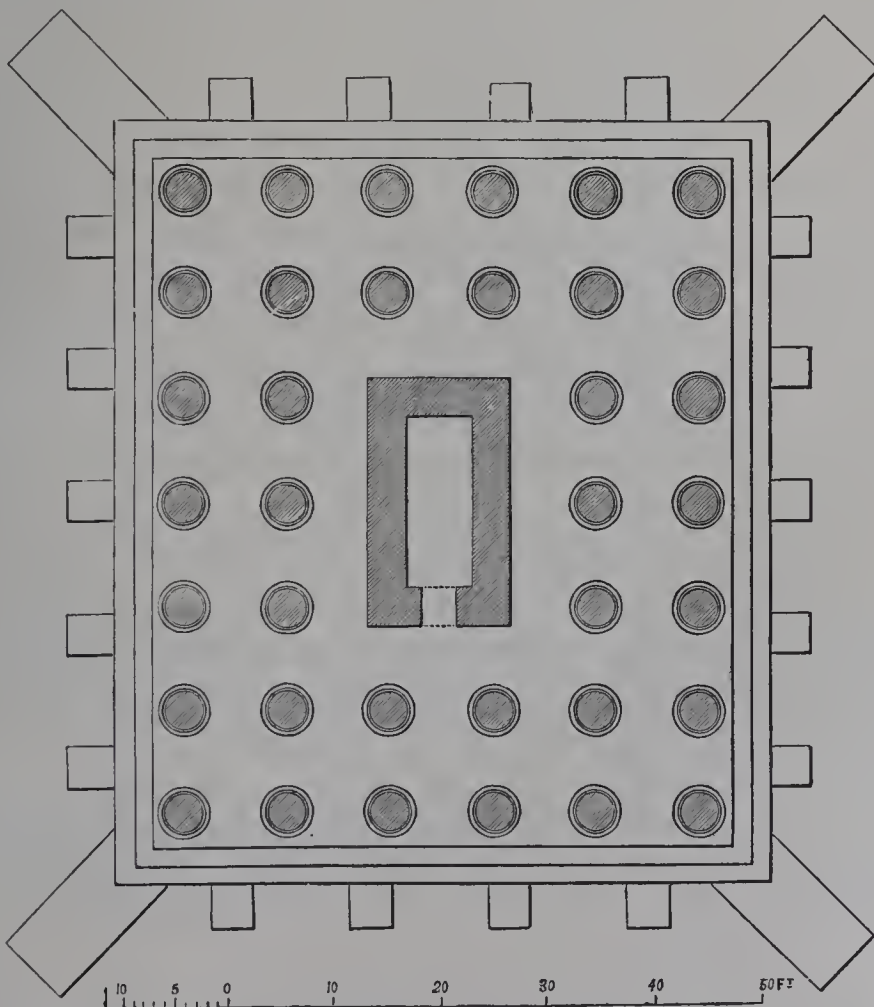
* This table shows that similar proportions were adopted at neighbouring places and at similar epochs. Thus, two temples at Selinus differ only $\cdot 002$; two temples at Pæstum, the temple at Segesta, and one at Selinus, have the same difference, while that at Syracuse is only $\cdot 009$ less; two at Agrigentum differ only $\cdot 001$; the Erechtheum and Temple of Victory Apteros, but $\cdot 002$; and those of Ægina, Thoricus, Eleusis, and Sunium, approach each other tolerably near. Mr. Cockerell has made a similar observation on the proportionate heights of columns. (*Temple of Jup. Olymp. Agrigentum*, p. 6.)

† So called by Wilkins.

Ionic.

Athens: Temple on the Ilissus	2·120
„ Erechtheum, west front	2·162
„ „ east portico	1·994
„ Temple of Victory Apteros	1·992
Priene: * Temple of Minerva Polias	1·739
Teos: Temple of Bacchus (as described by Vitruvius)	2·25
Ephesus: Temple of Diana (by calculation) . .	2·25
Branchidæ: Temple of Apollo	1·360
Samos: Temple of Juno	1·623
Mean	1·943

The length of the mausoleum being 63 feet, and deducting 1' 9·195" for the projection of the base and cornice, and allowing seven columns at the sides—



* The Propylæa at Priene has an intercolumniation of 2·554; but these sacred

we have an intercolumniation of 6' 1.011", or 1.722 diameter, which is nearly the same as that of Priene.

If we suppose one column less at the sides instead of seven, we shall not be able to get in the total number of thirty-six columns; and if we propose one column more, we shall find that the intercolumniations will become reduced to 4' 8.525", or 1.333 diameter, which is less than that of many Doric temples: we are therefore *compelled* to adopt seven columns at the sides of the building. It will be objected that an odd number of columns would be productive of an unsightly effect; but though it is opposed to the mechanical proportions with which we are too often in the habit of shackling architecture, I think it may be proved that the Greeks, so far from considering it as a defect, often esteemed it as a beauty—so far from avoiding an odd number of columns, frequently selected it. The majority of temples, as is well known,* have an uneven number of columns on the flanks—several in the fronts: while we may almost regard it as the fixed principle in hypæthral temples to have an odd number at the extremity of the naos†—a principle, the reason of which it would take too long to enter into in the present notice. The houses at Pompeii furnish an interesting particular in this respect: many of the peristyles have an uneven number of columns both at the sides and ends, where there is no necessity for this arrangement. The best example that can be cited is the "house of the Faun," the most splendid house yet excavated, and which has seven by nine columns in the peristyle, and eleven by thirteen in the hortus; and the "house of the coloured capitals,"—which, from its sym-

entrances necessarily required a greater opening. The porticoes of tetrastyle porticoes, as that on the north side of the Erechtheum, which is 3.619, are also frequently increased, in order to give greater breadth to the composition.

* Professor Cockerell has brought to my notice the circumstance, which I had overlooked, that an uneven number of columns occurs in several of the Egyptian temples.

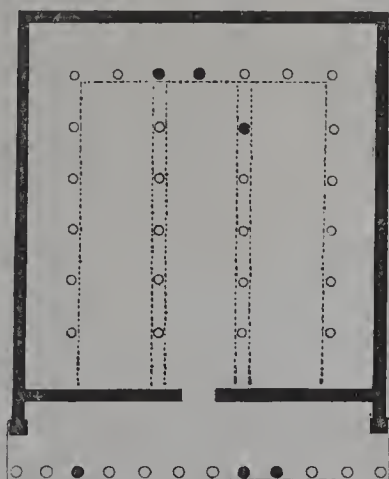
† See the plans of the Parthenon, (as established by Mr. Knowles, *Ground Plan of the Temple of Minerva at Athens*,) the Temples of Apollo at Bassæ, of



TOMB NEAR CONSTANTINA, IN ALGERIA
CALLED SOUMA "THE TOWER"

metry and regularity, we may regard, in common with the "house of Pansa," as a type of the ancient Roman house,—has five by nine columns in the hortus. But not to speak of temples and houses, but to confine our attention to sepulchral monuments—the tomb of Micipsa at Souma, in Algeria,* affords us another example of this arrangement; and if I am right in

Apollo at Miletus, of Ceres at Eleusis, and the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum. If the accompanying diagram of the manner in which I have



attempted to restore the plan of the Temple of Ceres be correct, there would be an odd column in every division. The three naves might have a mystical signification to the tripartite worship of the temple.

* *Souma*, in Arabic, signifies a tower or minaret, a name which clearly shows the nature of the monument, though it is now a heap of ruins. It lays fourteen kilometres (nearly nine miles) south-east of Constantina. The details of the monument are of pure Greek architecture, which is the more remarkable, as all remains in this country are of Roman date; but Strabo informs us that Micipsa greatly enlarged and adorned his capital city, Cirta, afterwards called Constantina, and for that purpose called in a Greek colony. The total height of the monument is supposed to have been 18 metres 56 centimetres, which is equivalent to 60 feet 10½ inches English measure. The accompanying view is projected in perspective from the geometrical restoration by M. Ravoisié (fol. Paris, 1846). From the very great projection of the lower pedestal, it is probable that this portion of the monument was decorated with sculpture at the top, perhaps with lions; and it is remarkable that both the upper and lower pedestals, and the steps beneath, all taper considerably. How much more elegant and natural these sepulchral monuments appear than the heavy, formal, vulgar mausolea which are beginning to adorn our cemeteries! How perfectly the Greeks understood the manner of uniting in these monuments the simple with the grand—elegant beauty with solemn sadness!

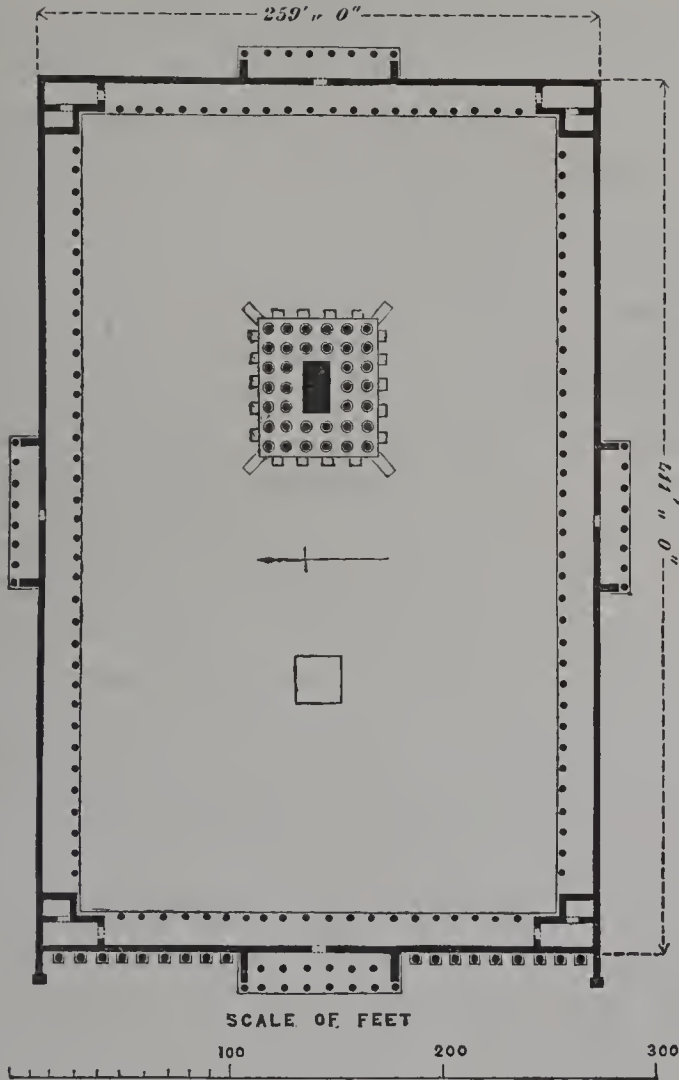
my restoration, the monument at Ooràn, in Asia Minor,* gives us yet another evidence of this principle.

We now pass to another feature of the plan. Pliny tells us that the whole circuit (of the monument) was 411 feet. But as the sepulchre measured only sixty-three feet on the larger side, it is evident that Pliny here speaks of the surrounding area. But for what purpose, and of what description was this area? Was it merely a terrace to give base to the design, or may it not rather have been an enclosure, or peribolus, surrounded by a peristyle? It must strike every one that the manner in which Pliny gives us the dimensions of the plan is of the most complex description. He first gives us only the length of one side of the mausoleum, merely telling us that the front was less; and then, describing the area, he gives us its circuit. In the first case, without a careful analysis of the proportions of Grecian temples, we are unable to tell how much less the front was; in the latter, we are obliged to calculate a parallelogram, which shall be in proportion to the sepulchre, and the circuit of which shall be exactly 411 feet, before we can tell what the respective sides of this area were. But is it not possible that we are misunderstanding Pliny? Is it likely that he would have adopted the clumsy method of giving us the circuit of the area, when it would have been so much more intelligible to have given us its relative dimensions? Is it not therefore possible, that as Pliny gave us the *latus longius* of the sepulchre, he gives us here the *latus longius* of the circuitus? and that the passage runs thus: (the larger side) measures on the north and south flanks 63 feet: the fronts are shorter; on the whole circuit (or the *surrounding enclosure*, the longer side) is 411 feet. In conformity with this supposition, I projected a plan, showing a peribolus,

* This monument I discovered, in 1844, on a hill called Oorán, five hours' journey from Denizli. The only parts remaining above the surface are the six large piers, measuring 4ft. 6in. square, and 5ft. 6in. high, *carved on each face* with bas-reliefs. Time did not permit me to sketch the sculptures, but one subject represented a figure in a chariot, and another a female with a drawn sword, standing over a prostrate enemy.



TOMB AT KORAN, NEAR DENHA, IN EGYPT.
DISCOVERED BY J. F. F. F.



one side of which measured 411 feet in length, and supposing that the sepulchre might have occupied one end, and the pyra the other, I considered that, to be in proportion with the monument and these requirements, the width might possibly have been about 300 feet.

Some time after having completed this plan, I discovered the following passage in Hyginus, which had hitherto escaped the attention of commentators:—"Monimentum regis Mausoli, lapidibus lychnicis altum pedes LXXX, circuitus pedes MCCCXL." (*Fabulæ*, ccxxiii.) This dimension of 1340 feet will be found

to coincide very precisely with what I had conceived to be the best proportion for a peribolus to enclose the tomb itself and the funeral pile, and the longest side of which was 411 feet. I therefore regard it as determined that the tomb was furnished with a peribolus, and that it measured 411 feet by 259 feet.

It is possible that this peribolus is referred to in the following passage from Vitruvius,—“*Per mediam autem altitudinis curvaturam, præincinctionemque, platea ampla latitudine facta, in qua media mausoleum,*” &c.: although I am not aware of the word *platea* being used otherwise than as a *street*. “But in the præincinction, or middle curvature of the height, *a broad area of ample dimensions* is made, in the middle of which the mausoleum,” &c. We should thus obtain an ample area, proportioned to the sepulchre, and fitted for the celebration of those ceremonies which it was customary to pay to the memory of deceased friends and heroes,* and large enough to receive the sacred pyre—the whole surrounded and protected by the *lorica*.† This practice of enclosing tombs was very common among the ancients. Pausanias gives us two instances; the tomb of Opheltes in Nemæa, which was enclosed by a wall which contained certain tombs;‡ and the sepulchre of the Phoezi (Arcadia), which he says, was surrounded by a low wall.§ The περιβολος || of Alexander’s tomb at Alexandria contained not only the body of Alexander, but those of the

* TIBUL. i. 3, 8, 9; ii. 6, 31—34; iii. 2.

† In a note from Captain Spratt, who was employed in the survey of this coast by the Admiralty, he states:—“On the western side, at ten or twelve feet from the masonry, stand the two posterns of a doorway, or approach by steps, since there was no opening in the masonry behind them. The position of these marble door-posts thus will correspond to your idea of such an approach, as denoted in your restoration of the mausoleum; upon seeing which I was forcibly struck with the conviction of these porticoes being *in situ*, but until now felt some doubt about it. —Feb. 5th, 1848.” He considers that there were two platforms contiguous to each other, with a difference of level of from five to six feet, and that they measured together *at least* 1100 feet in circumference.

‡ PAUS., ii. 15.

§ *Id.*, viii. 11.

|| STRABO, p. 794.

Ptolemies. The *enclosure* of Nero's tomb was of Thasian stone;* and in Cicero, we find the peribolus of tombs called *vestibulum*, or *forum*.† The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargarda also appears to have been enclosed by a peribolus, in the angles perhaps of which were chambers for the magi, who had the privilege of guarding his body.‡ Many of the tombs of Pompeii still remain enclosed by their protecting wall; but a very convincing proof of the practice of enclosing tombs is exhibited in the coin of Byblus, pointed out to me by Mr. Newton, and which represents a mausoleum in the centre, surrounded by its *pteron*, and terminating in a pyramid, the whole enclosed by a peribolus, the front side of which the artist has been obliged to leave out, in order to place the mausoleum. He does not show the columns of the peribolus, but he represents its roof, the ridge-tiles of which slope inwards on all sides.

As yet, we have determined only the plan of the building; we will now proceed to consider its height.

Pliny begins by saying that it was raised in height twenty-five cubits, or thirty-seven feet six inches: “attollitur in altitudinem viginti-quinque cubitis.” This dimension has been interpreted as the height of the order, but there is no indisputable authority in the original for this appropriation; and it is far more probable that Pliny here intended us to understand that the principal part of the monument, *i. e.* the portico, or *pteron*, was raised from the ground twenty-five cubits.

After describing the disposition of the columns, he goes on to say that the pyramid equalled the lower part in height, and that, including the quadriga, the total height was 140 feet. Taking 37ft. 6in. as the height of the order, Professor Cockerell divides the total height in two equal parts, one of which he gives to the pyramid, and apportions the other to the order, the height of which, 37ft. 6in., has been already found,

* SUET. *in Nero.*, 50.

† CIC. *de Legibus*, ii. 24, 61.

‡ ARRIAN, *Exped. Alex.*, vi.

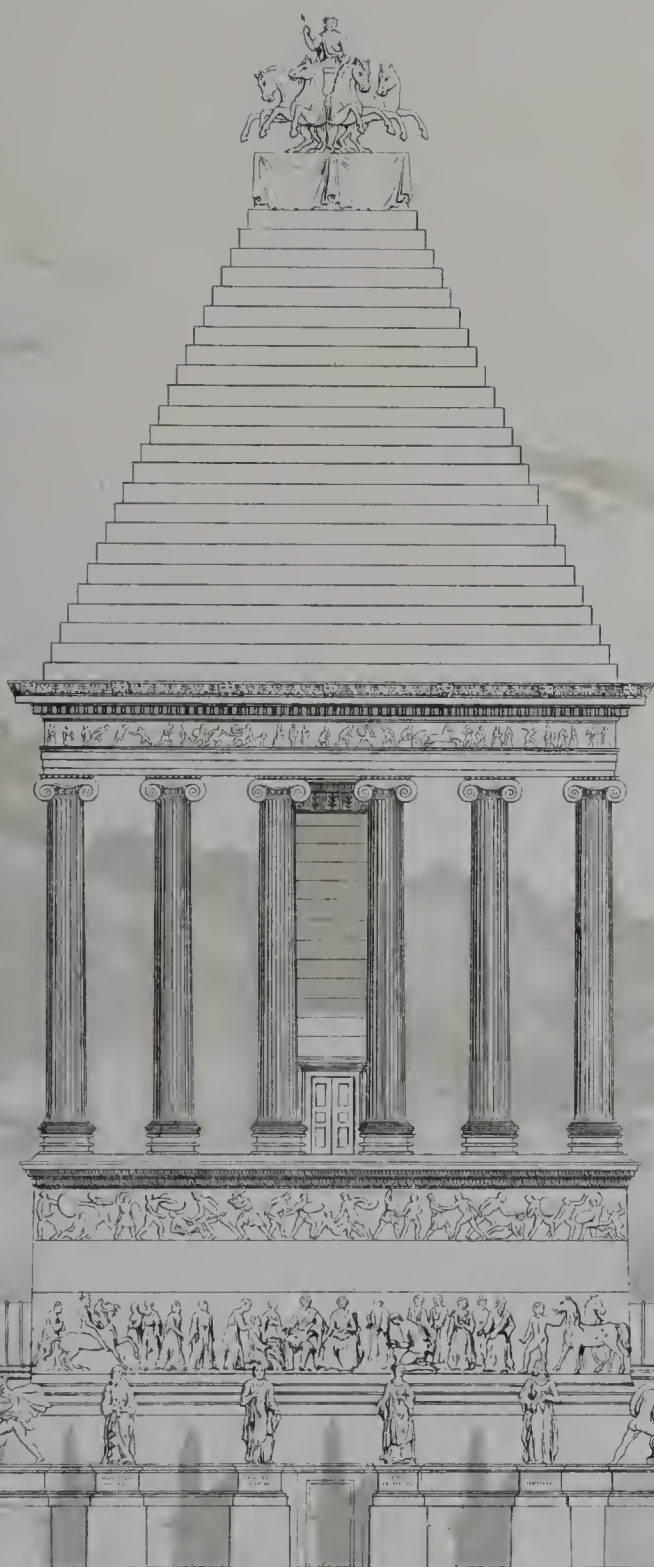
and to an attic and a basement, without any certainty as to the exact amount to give to either.* This difficulty is avoided if we consider the 25 cubits to have reference to the stylobate. We then merely have to deduct the 37ft. 6in. and the height of the quadriga from the total height, and we have a remainder which, divided in two equal portions, gives us at the same time the height of the order and of the pyramid above.

On discovering the passage in Hyginus, referred to above, I at once appropriated the dimension—1340; but, like commentators in similar difficulties, I fancied the LXXX feet must be a corruption of the text, or, as M. Texier would say, an “interpolation.” This arose from having accepted the height of 25 cubits as that of the order; but on attributing it, instead, to the height of the stylobate, it immediately occurred to me that Hyginus considered the height of the building to extend from the ground to the top of the cornice, and that he regarded the pyramid merely as a roof. On deducting, therefore, 37ft. 6in., I obtained 42ft. 6in. for the height of the order, and the like quantity for that of the pyramid; and thus there remained only 17ft. 6in. for the marble quadriga at the top.

We have seen that the proportionate heights of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, without bed-moulds, are 742, 690, and 798. Above the sculptured frieze, and on the same block, is an astragal and fillet, which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch: as the astragal is enriched, there must have been an ovolo over, which would be about twice and a half that dimension in height, making together $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, or $\cdot 124$ of a diameter; which, added to $\cdot 798$, gives the total height of the cornice as $\cdot 922$ including its bed-moulds. Thus we get the

Architrave	$\cdot 742 = 2' 7\cdot 454''$
Frieze	$\cdot 690 = 2' 5\cdot 025''$
Cornice	$\cdot 922 = 3' 3\cdot 084''$
Total Entablature . .	$2\cdot 354 \quad 8' 3\cdot 788''$

* The accompanying design is drawn to the same scale as that of Professor Cockerell's in the *Classical Museum*, already referred to, in order to afford more easy comparison.



Total Height 140 Feet

Equal to Paris

PLINY

26 Cubits
or 37½ Feet

HYGINUS
80 Feet

THE MAUSOLEUM,
OR SEPULCHRE OF MAUSOLUS

A

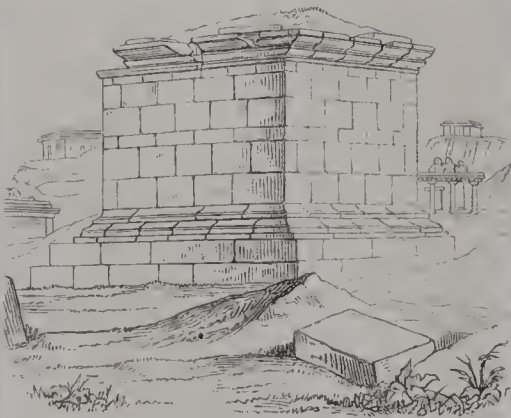
HALICARNASSUS

F 1847

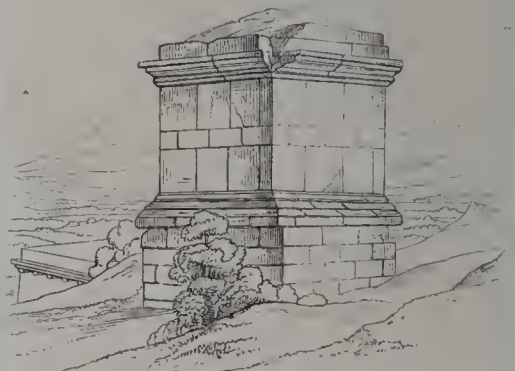
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



MYLASA.



ALINDA.



ALINDA.

Deducting this amount from the height of the order, 42ft. 6in., we have 34ft. 2·212in. for the height of the column, which is equivalent to 9·677 diameters; which, by reference to the preceding table, will be found to agree very well with the only Asiatic examples that have been determined—the Temple at Priene, and that at Branchidæ.

I have thus endeavoured to show how the various dimensions, which at first sight appear so contradictory, may be reconciled together, both in the plan and elevation; and, secondly, how the proportions thus established correspond most perfectly with the proportions of ancient temples. I must now consider two or three points, respecting which there is less certainty.

The first objection that may be urged against this restoration, will be the excessive height of the basement, and the unsightliness of such a blank wall; and, secondly, that the pyramid becomes too flat, and loses the application of Pliny's description, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*.

To the first objection I would reply by two arguments: I think it can be shown that the lofty and rising basement is more in character with other monuments approaching the same antiquity—witness the tombs of Souma and Phrygia, given in this memoir—the Harpy tomb, and the other square elongated stela at Xanthus—that at Palmyra—the tomb of Scipio at Taragona—the monuments at Rome, as the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and the sepulchre of M. Plautius near the Ponte Lucano—the tomb on Mount Lebanon, and others which are so generally divided into two nearly equal heights—and the general character of the tombs of Caria and Lycia; and, secondly, I would refer to the accompanying engraving in proof that a lofty basement does not necessarily imply a bare plain wall, without the opportunity of embellishment. On the contrary, I conceive that *the basement was the most richly decorated part* of the structure, and that it was to the sculptures of this part of the monument that the praises of Pliny, Pausanias, and Lucian are directed. The sculptures of Grecian temples, though proportioned to the

friezes, were capable of being seen, because the eye of the spectator was nearly on a level with the base of the columns; but if the sculptures of the mausoleum were confined in like manner to the frieze, they would be scarcely visible, being raised up to twice the height of those in temples.* They would consequently become mere decorations, and could never have elicited the high commendations of Lucian. Being confined to a narrow frieze, the architectural symmetry of which it was necessary to study, it would have been preposterous to divide the four sides among such celebrated sculptors as Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares; to confine the *capi d'opera* of such artists to a situation where they could never have been seen; to employ them as mere decorative sculptures; to divide off 228 feet of a narrow frieze, the detail of which would be invisible, between four such artists, when 386 feet of metopes and 528 of large frieze, making a total of 914 feet run of sculpture, independent of the pediments, were executed in the Parthenon, from the designs and under the superintendence of Phidias alone. The diversity of styles again, and manner of treatment, adopted by these several sculptors, would be in want of harmony as an architectural composition. We are, therefore, obliged to conclude that these sculptures were displayed in the stylobate, where they would be so much better seen. I have accordingly indicated two lines of bas-relief running round the monument, the figures in the lower one of which would be of the size of life, and have skirted its base with statues in the solid.

These two lines of sculpture I have adopted from the monument at Xanthus, for the discovery and acquisition of which we are so much indebted to Sir Charles Fellows. Another example of this disposition of sculpture occurs in the monument in Lycia, recently discovered by Professor

* The frieze of the Parthenon is 3 feet 4 inches, and the metopes 3 feet $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and raised 44 feet above the level of the surrounding area: while that of the mausoleum is only 2 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and raised nearly 80 feet.

Schönborn, and described in No. I. of the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*; and in addition to the authority which these monuments afford for introducing sculpture in the stylobate, the Temple of Victory *apteros* affords us a beautiful example of the same practice. The ordinary Greek stelæ generally contain a bas-relief representing a valedictory scene, and the later Roman monuments usually have a sculptured frieze, as in the monument of Philopappus, representing a triumph or an important incident in the life of the deceased,* or the banquet of Elysium, which he was supposed to be enjoying.

In the funereal car of Alexander, described by Diodorus (c. 28), there were four *parallel* paintings (which in Quatremère de Quincy's design are shown continuous, not parallel). These paintings were filled in with figures, and were equal to the walls. In the first (or upper line), Alexander was seated on his throne, surrounded by his Macedonian and Persian guards; in the second was a train of elephants, with their Indian attendants and Macedonian infantry; in the third, his cavalry; and in the fourth, his vessels of war in order of battle.

Though there is sufficient authority, therefore, for the application of bas-relief to the stylobate, the introduction of statues may appear more questionable. But in the first place, we invariably find statues in those medals which represent the rogi or funereal piles, and which appear to be copies of sepulchral monuments; we see them introduced in the intercolumniations of the monument at Xanthus, already alluded to;† and they are applied in a similar position in the restorations of previous illustrators: if, therefore, they are admissible in one position, they are in another; and as I show none between the columns,—the intercolumniations of which will not allow of them,—I think myself justified in applying them to the

* Thus the tomb of Pyrrhus, at Argos, was ornamented with a representation of his armour and his elephants. (PAUS. ii. 21.)

† A tomb at Antioch was covered with such statues.

decoration of the stylobate. But, independent of this reasoning from analogy, I think the descriptions of Cassiodorus, Pausanias, Lucian, and even Vitruvius, will confirm the appropriation of them. Cassiodorus does not speak of its magnitude or grandeur, but merely of its *beauty*: he calls it *pulcherrimum monumentum*.^{*} Neither does Vitruvius describe its magnitude, nor make use of any corresponding expression, but speaks of its *wonderful works*, in the plural: "Mausoleum ita *egregiis operibus* est factum." Pausanias says, "it was erected by Mausolus, who reigned in Halicarnassus; and through the magnitude of the work, and the *splendour of its ornaments*, (καὶ ἐς κατασκευὴν περίβλεπτος τὴν πᾶσαν,) the Romans were so struck with wonder, that they call all their sepulchres *mausolea*."† The words of Lucian are still more remarkable: "No monument in the world is equal to it in magnitude *or beauty*: nor embellished like it in such an elegant manner, with men and horses copied to the life." (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον, ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων).‡

This latter statement I have taken advantage of, as it seems to show that men and horses were carved in the solid, and I have accordingly placed statues of men under each of the columns,§ and horses at the angles.

Another consequence of the increased height given to the basement, is a more perfect accordance with Martial's description of the Mausoleum, as being *suspended in the void air*: for

* CASSIOD. *Var.* vii. 15.

† PAUS. viii. 16.

‡ LUCIAN, *Dial. Mort.* xxiv.

§ This position of them is corroborated by the Temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, each of which had statues in front of the columns. Statues may also be seen in a similar position on medals of Antoninus Pius, and on the temple in the back ground of the picture, representing King Latinus receiving the Trojan ambassadors, and in other instances. Among other restrictions introduced by Solon, to prevent the expense incurred by such immense sepulchres as had been erected in the Ceramicus, he expressly forbids the introduction of statues, or *Hermes*; which proves that, before this law, they were commonly employed in the ornament of their tombs. (CIC. *de Leg.* ii. 26, 65.)

being placed at so great a height, the solid* pier in the centre of the *pteron* would be scarcely visible, being concealed by the lines of perspective—thus furthering the analogy between the monument and this description of Martial's, obtained by placing a double line of columns all round the central pier.

To the second objection, that my pyramid becomes too depressed, and in want of conformity with Pliny's description, I would submit whether it be not in stricter analogy with it in this respect than previous designs; that is to say, whether Pliny's expression, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*, does not rather give us to understand that the entire monument resembled a meta, and that, like it, it was drawn inwards towards the top? for metæ are never in the form of pyramids, but are always represented as elongated parabolic cones, nearly straight at the bottom, and contracting in a sharp curve towards the top.†

Another argument in favour of the proportion which I have assigned to the pyramid, is that it more nearly assimilates to the *angle of repose*; for if we suppose that the pyramid of the mausoleum is copied from the tumulus of the heroic times—as it undoubtedly is—the form of the pyramid would be made to assimilate to that of the tumulus, or, in other words, to the angle of repose: and this is the angle we find observed in other monuments, as in the tomb at Mylassa,‡ and the tomb at Constantina, in Africa.§

The above are the observations I have thought it necessary to give in elucidation of my design; there are, however, some features of the mausoleum which require further notice: the first of these is the quadriga. It was the custom of the ancients

* I speak merely with regard to its *appearance*, without reference to whether it were really solid. It might have contained the bust of Mausolus; the body was probably deposited in the ground in the first instance, and the monument raised over it, like the tumulus over the grave. (See 1 Macc. xiii. 27.)

† The tomb in the Via Appia near Albano is of this form.

‡ DILET. SOC., *Ion. Antiq.* It is incorrectly given in the *Classical Museum*.

§ *Mem. de Littérature*, xxvi. p. 334, pl. 4.

to raise columns over the tombs of their friends, whereon were inscribed the names and achievements of the deceased; and where the monument was of a more important character, statues or other emblems relating to the deceased were added. We have several instances in Pausanias of this practice. Over the sepulchre of Lais, in Corinth, was a lioness holding a ram in her fore-feet, (ii. 1). The sepulchre of Coræbus, in the forum of Megara was surmounted by the figure of Coræbus slaying the monster Pœna, (i. 43). A golden ram stood on the sepulchre of Thyestes, near Argos (ii. 18), because, says Lucian (*De Astrologia*), he discovered that sign of the zodiac. A rough stone was placed over the tumulus of Phocus, in Ægina, because he was killed with it by Peleus, who used this stone instead of a quoit (ii. 29). On the tomb of Pittheus, at Troezen, were placed three thrones, being those in which he and his colleagues* are reported to have sat in judgment (ii. 31). Over the tumulus of Auge, in Pergamus, who was celebrated for her beauty, was placed a naked woman of brass (viii. 4). Over the sepulchre of Androclus, the founder of Ephesus, was the figure of a man in armour (viii. 2). On the sepulchre of the Thebans who fell in battle against Philip, at Chæronea, was placed a lion, to signify the valour of those men in battle, (ix. 40.) And, finally, the stones which formed the foundation of the tumulus of Amphion, at Thebes, were said to be the very stones which followed the harmony of his lyre (ix. 17).† Thus, the quadriga of the sepulchre of Mausolus would be placed there as an emblem of the grandeur and glory of the King of Caria, his opulence and his military renown.

I have introduced a curved moulding in my design between

* The governors of the cities of Hyperea, Anthea, and Posidonias, which were afterwards united into Troezen. (PAUS. ii. 30.)

† On the tomb of Archimedes was a globe and cylinder (CIC. *in Tuscul.*); on that of Diogenes the cynic was a dog, (LAERTIUS *in Vita*); and a siren stood on that of Isocrates (PLUT. *Rhet.* 10).

the stylobate and the pteron, partly to prevent the projection of the cornice below from hiding a portion of the columns, and partly in reference to the character of the building. The portico of the monument being inaccessible from without, it would be an impropriety to represent steps, as in a sacred building; but a curved moulding in lieu of steps would serve to denote that the portico was not intended for use, but merely as a decoration. The choragic monument of Lysicrates is another instance of a building, ornamented with a colonnade, raised considerably above the ground—having the same feature of a moulded plinth between the portico and the stylobate. The expedient adopted in the Xanthian monument is exceedingly interesting in this particular. The cornice, although composed of several mouldings, is of very low projection, in order not to hide the bases of the columns; while, still further to remedy this evil, the bases of the columns have an extraordinary elongation. They are equal to a whole diameter in height, whereas the other Asiatic examples are only half a diameter. This was, doubtless, contrived to remedy the necessary concealment of a portion of the base by the projecting lines of the cornice. The *Ionic* base being so characteristic of this country, I have introduced it in my design, giving it an altitude of three quarters of a diameter.

There is a strong presumption that the mausoleum was decorated with statues, but whom these statues represented, it is, of course, impossible to assert; in the absence, however, of a more probable idea, I would suggest the following:—Mausolus might occupy the central pedestal on one side, with his father and mother and two brothers, making a group of five. Artemis might occupy a corresponding position on the other flank, with Artemisia and captive Rhodes on one side, and Ada the sister of Artemisia, and Artemisia the daughter of Lygdamis, on the other; while the eight remaining pedestals, four in either front, would support statues of the eight cities which were united

together by Mausolus into Halicarnassus.* Parallel instances are exhibited in the trophy of Artemisia's conquest of Rhodes, which represented Artemisia and captive Rhodes,† and in the monument to the memory of Homer, built by Ptolemy Philopater, who placed round the statue of the poet representations of the different cities which had claimed the honour of giving him birth.‡



Since writing the above, I find there is the trunk of a female draped statue in the British Museum, the height of which, curiously enough, exactly corresponds with those in my design. It was brought from Halicarnassus with the bas-reliefs, and is

* STRABO, p. 611. In the same manner, the cities Hyperea, Anthea, and Posidonias, which were afterwards united into Troezen, were represented on the tomb of Pittheus, as already noted, (page 184, note.) Figures of cities are also represented on the pedestal of the statue of Tiberius, found at Puteoli.

† VITR., *Arch.*, ii. 8.

‡ ÆLIAN., *Var. Hist.*, xiii. 22.

considered in the *Bullettino dell'Inst. Archeol. di Roma*, (1832, page 168,) as having formed part of the decoration of the mausoleum. Though some doubts may possibly be entertained whether it be of so early a date, it is nevertheless a beautifully executed statue; and the delicacy with which the deep folds of the stola or tunic are rendered just perceptible under the flat surface of the pallium, is very remarkable. The fringed border, considered to be a mark of later age, may possibly be an indication of Barbarian extraction.

The monument being nearly square, having six columns on one side, and seven on the other, the door being of minor consequence, if perceptible, and the only indication of the front, independent of having one column less, being the position of the quadriga at the top of the building, it appears doubtful how Pliny could speak of the monument having a front, or how the spectators could readily distinguish it; and I therefore submit the *possibility* of the hexastyle porticoes at front and back having been surmounted by a pediment, as in the Xanthian monument, and as we so universally find in the rock tombs of Lycia. I have not, however, followed this suggestion, for I cannot deny that a pyramid resting on a pediment would be contrary to the principles of Greek art.

I close these remarks by referring to two monuments in Syria. In speaking of sepulchres worthy of admiration Pausanias signalises two only; the mausoleum of Mausolus, "and one in the country of the Hebrews, at the city of Solymæ, (Jerusalem.) It was the sepulchre of Helena, a native woman, but was razed to its foundations by the Emperor of the Romans" (Titus).^{*} Unfortunately, we have no description of this monument, but we find the following references to it in Josephus and Eusebius. It was situate in the suburb called Ælia, and although three furlongs distant from Jerusalem, it appears to have given name to one of the city gates, a sufficient proof

^{*} PAUS., viii. 16.

of its splendour and magnificence. Queen Helena erected the monument which was called "the three pyramids" in her lifetime, and on her decease, 45 B.C., was buried there by her son, Monobazus, king of Adiabene, who also buried there the bones of Izates, his brother.* The other monument in this country was the sepulchre of the Maccabei, and which, with the substitution of the ships and armour for the chariot of Mausolus, seems to have borne a most remarkable resemblance to the mausoleum. This monument was erected, B.C. 143, by Simon Maccabeus, over the sepulchres of his father, his mother, and his four brethren, at Madin, the city of his ancestors, which was one mile from Joppa. Over the graves he built six pyramids, one for each of them, and which were all of great size and beauty. And in the centre he erected a very large monument of white and polished stone, and raised it to a great height, so as to be seen a long way off, and *finished it with a pyramid*.† And he ornamented it with sculptures, and encircled it with porticoes (στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται), of columns of one block; and upon the top he made representations of their armour, and ships, carved, for a perpetual memorial. A work it was wonderful to see.‡ A proof of the magnificence of this monument is evinced by its being described as still standing in the time of Josephus, who died A.D. 93, and of Eusebius, who died A.D. 342, or about 500 years after its erection. The custom of raising one monument to the memory of those who died together, or to members of the same family, was very common.

The accompanying view of a tomb at Celenderis, in Cilicia, which I took in May, 1844, may prove interesting, as showing the continued existence of the pyramidal type supported by piers, to a late period of Roman architecture. The most

* EUSEB., ii. 12; JEROM., *Orat. de Obi. Beat. Paulæ*; JOSEPHUS, *de Bello Jud.*, v. 2, 2, and 3, 3; *Antiq.*, xx. 4, 3.

† Which is evident, from the historian telling us there were *seven* pyramids, 1 Macc. xiii. 28.

‡ 1 Macc. xiii. 27—30; JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii. 11, 2; xiii. 6, 6.



P. P. May 1844

TOMB AT CELENDERIS, IN CILICIA

Ford & George, Lithographers, 64 Hatton Garden.

beautiful example of this very common form is the tomb of St. Remi, in France. Another almost as beautiful, but a less known example, is the tomb at Ijel, near Trèves. It consists of three steps ornamented with sculpture, a square pedestal, in like manner enriched; above this is an open arcade, with a pilaster at each angle filled in with arabesque, a high frieze, attic, and pediment, all enriched with bas-relief. It is crowned with an ogee roof, enriched with laurel leaves, finishing with a Corinthian cap and eagle on a globe.

EDWARD FALKENER.

XVI.

DESCRIPTION OF A VERY ANCIENT STATUE
OF MINERVA, AT ATHENS.

“ The statue of Minerva, lately discovered on the Acropolis, was probably a copy of the old Minerva Polias, which was said to have fallen from heaven.”

THE above quotation from my note-book is one of a short series of remarks on ancient art, communicated to me at Athens by that distinguished archæologist, Carl Otfried Müller, in June, 1840. I propose, on a subsequent occasion, to give these remarks in all their integrity, and will now confine my observations to the description of this statue, particularly as I am not aware of any engraving of this remarkable figure, except that from a sketch by Sir William Gell, and the one published by Adolf Schöll, in the *Hinterlassenen Papieren*, von C. O. MÜLLER, Frankfurt, 1843, in which many of the details—in the hair, costume, and style—are not sufficiently indicated.

This sitting figure of Minerva is four feet six inches in height, and is of white Parian marble. It has a very Archaic character; the posture is formal and angular; the knees are close together, but the left foot a little advanced: the head and arms are wanting. Round the neck, and hanging like a cape, so as to cover the shoulders and body as low as the waist, is a broad ægis; the edges are indented, and holes remain at regular distances, probably for the insertion of bronze serpents. The shape of the breast is distinctly marked beneath the ægis, but no folds are visible on this surface. A large boss directly in front, and now perfectly smooth, was most probably adorned with a painted head of the Gorgon Medusa, whilst the ægis itself was coloured like scales, as we see on the painted vases. The hair falls in plaits over the shoulders, and in a great mass at

the back. A similar fashion is to be seen in many other Palladian figures, also preserved on the Acropolis.

It is worthy of observation, that the texture of the remaining drapery is fine ribbed, and in wavy lines, such as are frequently represented on early vases, and archaic sculpture. From its lightness and peculiar gauzy quality, it is only to be seen used as an under garment; and where the figure wearing it is seated, a mantle is invariably thrown over the knees. In the painted Sosias eup, in the bas-relief from the Villa Albani, and in the Harpy monument from Xanthus, this is conspicuously shown.*



BAS-RELIEF ON ONE OF THE SIDES OF THE HARPY TOMB, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. --†

Here, however, it is the only garment to the limbs, and from the very want of an outer covering a serviceable argument may be derived. Müller regarded this as a repetition of the type of the old Minerva Polias, chiefly judging by the art-characters about it, and from the position in which it was found. The statue was discovered, it is believed, at the Aglaurium.† This locality is situated immediately at the foot of the Acropolis, under the Temple of Minerva Polias (SCHÖLL, p. 24). Pausanias says that her most sacred statue was a common offering of the demi, before they were collected into the city; it was preserved in the Acropolis, and reported to have fallen from

* Zoëga, *Bassi rilievi di Roma*, Tav. xli.; Müller *Denkmäler*, Tav. xlv.

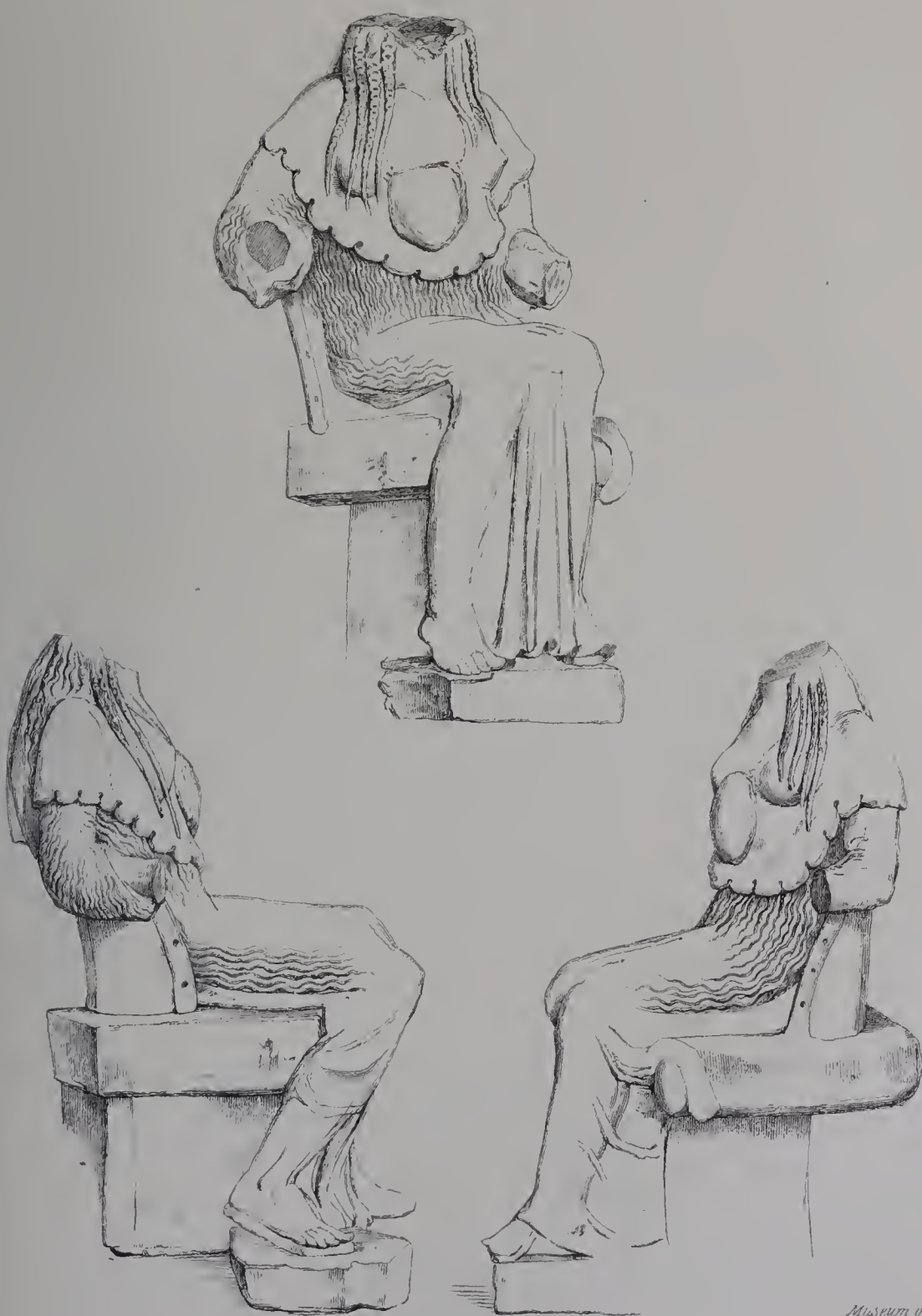
† A view of this celebrated grotto, taken by the writer in 1840, will appear in the next number of the *Life and Travels of St Paul*, by Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A.

heaven. He tells us also that an ancient sitting statue of Minerva was to be seen on the Acropolis, with an epigram upon it, signifying that it was the offering of Callias, and the work of Endæus, a disciple of Dædalus (PAUSANIAS, i. 26). In neither instance does he name the material, and on both occasions uses the word *αγαλμα*. This old statue seems, according to Athenagoras, to have been of olive wood—a mere *ξοανον*—and it was to this—the Minerva Polias—and not to the Minerva of the Parthenon, that the Panathenaic peplos—the “embroidered fasti of Athenian glory”—was periodically dedicated. The peplos, again, was not a veil suspended before the statue in the temple—it was the drapery in which the statue itself was invested,* accompanied with ceremonies like those hinted at in the sixth book of the *Iliad*. Hecuba proceeded to her store of treasure, and selecting the finest and most valuable embroidered garment, gave it to the priestess Theano as an offering to Minerva. The priestess received and placed it upon the knees of the goddess, (Θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γόυνασιν, *Il.* vi. 303,) and, praying, supplicated. Thus might fancy picture the prototype of this ancient and simply disposed figure, whose attitude seems best adapted for the purpose, raised on a pedestal, with the ever-burning lamp of Calimachus before it, and wrapt in the many-folded vestment, gorgeous and heavy from its embroideries. Such drapery could only be adapted to lie upon so flat a surface, unless applied to a standing figure of colossal proportions, and even then the limbs must have been disposed in more violent action. Whether so really primitive a figure would have been represented sitting may admit of doubt, but it was the opinion stated by the learned Professor after he had seen my drawing, and as such entitled to the utmost respect; though Schöll, who does not incline to its exhibiting an early type, seems, by the wording of his notes, to indicate wavering upon the part of his distinguished fellow-traveller.

GEORGE SCHIARF, JUN.

March 22nd, 1851.

* WORDSWORTH, pp. 126, 127.



Museum of Class Antig

THREE VIEWS OF A VERY ANCIENT STATUE,
ON THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

XVII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

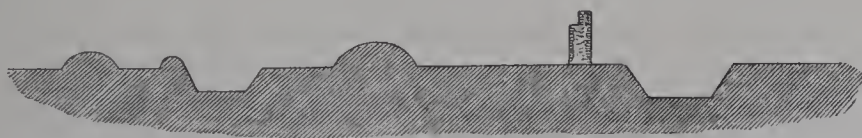
- 1.—REV. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A. *The Roman Wall: a Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.* 8vo. Newcastle, 1851. John R. Smith, London; W. Sang, G. B. Richardson, Newcastle.

ARCHÆOLOGY, instead of being now an abstruse and dry study, is become an interesting and a fashionable one. Instead of the cumbrous tomes of Horsley and of Hodgson, works which, with all their learning and research, are unattainable and perhaps unknown to the general reader, we have in the elegant volume before us a well digested compendium of those earlier works, together with a statement of the author's personal investigations, and of the more accurate inductions which he is thereby enabled to draw—the whole presented to us in a clear and succinct manner, doing credit alike to the author's literary taste and to his antiquarian study.

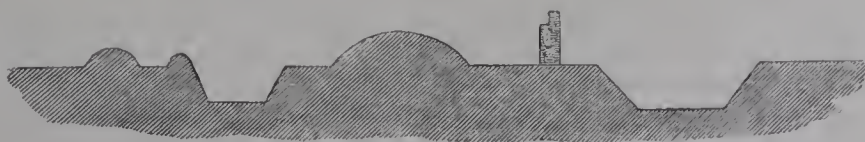
On the conquest of Lower Britain by the Romans, the more warlike of the inhabitants joined the nations of the north. Advancing to the Lower Isthmus, Agricola, in the second year of his campaign, sought to maintain his position by a series of insulated forts. In the following year he pushed on toward the Upper Isthmus, which he fortified in like manner. These lines of defence were subsequently strengthened by the construction of an earthen barrier across the Upper—and of a stone wall across the Lower Isthmus.

This wall, called the Roman Wall, extends from Bowness to Wallsend, a distance of nearly sixty-nine miles.

A B C D E F G H I K



THE WALL, EIGHTEEN MILES WEST OF NEWCASTLE.



THE WALL, HALF A MILE WEST OF CARRAW.

It consists of—

- I. The Stone Wall: intended as a defence against the Piets.
- II. The Vallum, or Turf Wall: a defence against the Britons.
- III. Stations, Castles, and Watch Towers.
- IV. A Military Way.

I. The wall (II) varies in its dimensions, and even in its mode of construction. The masonry is of the kind called by Vitruvius the Roman *Emplectum*, consisting of squared stones on each face, and filled in between with rubble; differing from the Greek *ἔμπλεκτον*, in not having the bond-stones, *διατόνοι*, and in not being worked up course by course. The stones are about twenty inches in length, ten or eleven in width, and eight or nine in thickness; being such as a man might easily carry on his shoulders. Most of the bricks are tooled or “scabbled,” and sometimes marked with what appear to be masons’ signs. The average thickness of the wall is eight feet; a platform ran along the top, protected by a parapet, making a total height of eighteen or nineteen feet.

On the outside of the wall is a fosse (I), averaging thirty-six feet wide and fifteen feet deep.

The wall and its fosse are projected in as straight a line as the nature of the country would allow. Like the Roman Wall near Ratisbon—“no mountain is so high, no abyss so steep, no wood so thick, no morass so profound, through which it does not penetrate.” It never deviates from a right line, except to occupy the highest parts, and never fails to seize them when they occur, however often it may be thereby forced to change its course. These deviations of direction are always in angular, never in curved lines.

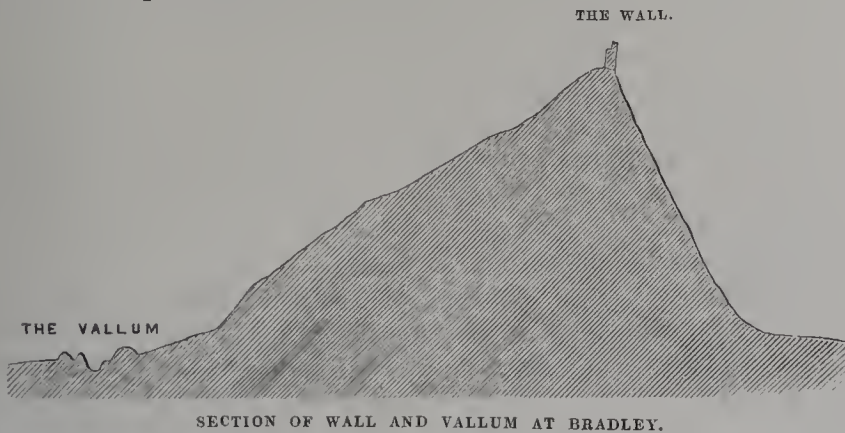
The Wall crowned the summit of cliffs, whose precipitous face would appear to have offered a sufficient bulwark; and this the author attempts to explain by the supposition that it served, in such situations, merely as a protection against the cold; but as the wall is not diminished in thickness, we think it more probable that it was in all cases calculated for defence against an enemy, to whom even the rocky heights of Sardis would have afforded no insurmountable obstruction.

The fosse follows the line of wall with undeviating constancy: it has been drawn indifferently through alluvial soil, and rocks of sandstone, limestone, and basalt. At Tepper Moor, enormous blocks of whin lie just as they have been lifted out of the fosse. When a flat and open country is passed through, a portion of the ground taken out of the ditch has frequently been deposited on its northern bank, thus making small outer agger (at K). In some parts the fosse appears to have been filled with water.

II. The Vallum, or Turf Wall, is properly a triple one. In the centre ran a second fosse (D), the earth from which, conjointly with that from the great fosse, has been used in forming the principal vallum (F) on the north of the second fosse. Its dimensions must have corresponded with those of the fossæ, but at present it does not exceed six or seven feet in height. The southern glacis of the trench is fortified by an agger, or rampart (C). To the south of this is the third agger (A), which Horsley makes the least considerable.

I. II. The two lines of defence proceed across the isthmus in nearly a parallel course, and are generally within sixty or seventy yards of each other. Sometimes there is scarcely room for the Military Way between them, and sometimes they are half-a-mile apart. The greatest distance apart occurs in the mountainous districts

of the country, when the wall seeks the highest ground, and the vallum takes its course along the plains below.



The murus usually formed the northern side of the station, and the vallum the southern side, but sometimes they serve as defences to the east and west gates. The interval between them is always contracted in crossing a river; by this means they required one bridge only, which was more easily defended.

III. At distances along the line, of about four miles, were stationary camps, (*stationes*, or *castra stativa*.) These formed the nuclei of military cities. They were from three to five acres in extent, of a square form, divided into four quarters by streets at right angles, at each extremity of which was a gate. The streets were narrow and the houses small, in order to economise room and render their position one of greater strength. An advantage attending this uniformity of plan consisted in the facility with which fresh troops could be allotted to their respective quarters, even before arriving at a station. The ground usually sloped toward the south, and was defended by a fosse and earthen walls. Although at nearly equal distances apart, their position was determined partially by the nature of the country; and one of the most important requisites was an abundant supply of water. Suburbs extended round the cities for the convenience of camp-followers; and it is remarkable, that although many of them must have been of considerable importance, adorned with temples and other public monuments, there is scarcely one at present which is not converted into sheep-walks. The sites of seventeen or eighteen stations may still be traced, and the names of many of them, from Wallsend to Birdoswald, have been determined by reference to the *Notitia Imperii*.

The *Castella* are situated about a Roman mile apart. One is generally found, however, close to a river or a mountain-gorge, in order to defend the pass. They measure from sixty to seventy feet square. Between each of them were four turrets for sentries. Thus a constant communication of signals and orders could have been kept up from one end of the line to the other.

IV. An important part of the great barrier was its Military Way (G). This ran between the two defences, so that by the murus on the north, and by the vallum on the south, it was effectually concealed from view on either side, and thus troops could pass backwards and forwards without obstruction. It is usually seventeen feet wide, and is cambered, so as to give a rise in the centre of about eighteen inches. The road keeps an independent course; it is sometimes nearer to the murus, and sometimes to the vallum; the object of the engineer having been to afford the most

easy and direct communication between the various castles and stations. A smaller road ran immediately below the wall, and another on the south of the vallum (at B).

The *Upper Isthmus* was protected by a barrier which is called "Graham's Dike." It extended from Borrowstoness, on the Firth of Forth, to West Kirkpatrick, on the river Clyde, a distance of twenty-seven miles. It consisted of an immense fosse, forty feet wide and twenty deep, which extended over hill and dale in one unbroken line from sea to sea. Within a few feet of its southern side was an agger of twenty-four feet in thickness at the base, and twenty feet in height. Behind this ran the Military Way, about twenty feet wide, communicating with nineteen stations and several intermediate castella.

It is remarkable that the Upper Barrier is immediately to the north of the Clyde, the Lower Barrier to the north of the Tyne, the Irthing, and the Eden, and the "Devil's Wall," near Ratisbon, to the north of the Danube. The author endeavours to show, and with great probability, that the reason for not availing themselves of the natural trenches of river basins, was that they might be enabled to take advantage of the higher ground on the north banks of the rivers—to prevent surprise by the approach of an enemy up the rivers, concealed by the neighbouring forests,—and to enjoy to themselves the advantages accruing from the rich alluvial plains of these rivers.

In the Fifth Part the author discusses the question—"Who built the wall?" and we think that he has made a very clear case in favour of Hadrian, in opposition to the more general opinion, which ascribes it to Septimius Severus; and as the barrier of the Upper Isthmus was formed in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, the supposition seems extremely feasible that the Antonine Wall is but an advanced work of Hadrian's entrenchment.

We have contented ourselves in giving but a summary account of the Second Part; in the First is an epitome of the history of Roman occupation in Britain; the Third and Fourth contain a local description of the works; and the Sixth, an account of the antiquities discovered.

It would be a delightful process to follow the author in his description of the works, traversing the Isthmus from one extremity to the other, and pointing out at each step the several points of interest which present themselves. Among the objects so described, are the "Baths" at Hunnum, p. 162; a Roman bridge over the North Tyne, p. 170; extensive remains at Cilurnum, p. 174 (which have been described by John Clayton, Esq., in the *Archæologia Æliana*, iii. 142); the West Portal, and other remains of Borecovicus, pp. 216—228; the Castellum at Cawfields, p. 248; an Aqueduct, or Watercourse, at Æsica, p. 257; the Station of Amboghanna, p. 280; and the remains at Plympton, or Old Penrith, p. 358. Among the antiquities discovered, we would call attention to a silver "lanx," or dish, found at Corbridge, p. 334; and to a very elegant altar at Nether Hall, p. 363.

The publication of this work has prompted the Duke of Northumberland to announce his intention of instituting further researches, on a larger scale, on the site of the Roman Wall. We trust that Mr. Bruce will take an active part in the prosecution of these researches, and that he may be induced to give us some further account of the Roman Wall from the discoveries which may ensue.

The work contains 450 pages, nearly every leaf of which is embellished with a lithograph or woodcut.

2.—PROF. BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S., &c.; and C. H. NEWMARCH, Esq. *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the Site of the Ancient Corinium.* Geo. Bell, Fleet-street; Baily and Jones, Cirencester. 4to. London. 1850.

AMONG the various publications which have appeared on topographical antiquity, there are few that can compete with the present work in beauty and interest; but we trust that the example set by Cirencester may be speedily followed by other cities of equal antiquarian importance.

Casual excavations, as the digging of a well, or the laying the foundations of a house, have almost invariably brought to light some evidence of ancient art at Cirencester; but these have taken place at protracted intervals, and their results were either wholly unheeded, or printed in scattered publications, and the remains themselves perhaps neglected or destroyed. With the increased zeal for antiquarian research, there is no fear that the latter evil will again occur; and the authors have endeavoured to remedy the former, by collecting in one chapter a relation of all previous discoveries, and referring to the various volumes in which they have been published.

It is not merely within the walls of the ancient Corinium that these antiquities have been discovered, but remains of some of the most beautiful villas in England have been found in its immediate vicinity—as at Stancomb Park, Woodchester, Whitcomb, Withington, and Crippetts near Leckhampton; thus denoting the importance of this city, and its long occupation by the Romans, many of whom appear to have selected it from its well-secured and tranquil district.

We are indebted for the present volume simply to the circumstance, that two pavements were discovered in consequence of making a sewer in Dyer-street in the year 1849; and the principal portion of the work is naturally devoted to their description, and to a relation of the objects discovered in the excavation: but the authors have taken advantage of the opportunity, to publish at the same time, a third pavement, discovered at the Barton in 1825, but which had remained till now unedited. These three pavements are drawn, engraved, and coloured in the most careful and beautiful manner, and with such distinctness, that we can, as it were, count every tessella, and form an opinion ourselves on the character of the representations. Owing to this finished execution of the engraving, we would suggest that the toga of Orpheus in the Barton pavement is not “variously striped,” as stated by the authors, but that the lines of colour merely designate the folds of the drapery, in the same manner that what they designate as “pantaloon” and “shoes” are simply the lines of the anatomy of the naked figure.

In the centre of this pavement (Plate VII.) is Orpheus, surrounded by a circular frieze of various birds,—the distinctive characteristics of which, as usual, are expressed with great truth,—walking round the circle in rapid strides. Round this is a larger frieze, containing various beasts of prey, treading the ground with measured steps and slow, to the sound of the music. This pavement measures twenty-one feet square. In the same Plate is an octangular star pattern, which is remarkable from its exact identity with the pattern so frequently employed by the Byzantines and Saracens in their geometrical mosaics. These pavements are now well protected by the erection of a house over them.

The first of the Dyer-street pavements (Plate VI.) is precisely similar in general

form to a pavement in the House of the Mosaic Fountain at Pompeii; but though more elaborate, it is not equal to it in purity of design. In the centre is a spirited representation of a chase; three out of four dogs remain, but the quarry is destroyed. It forms a square of fifteen feet.

The third pavement (Plate II.) is the largest and most elaborate. It is twenty-five feet square, and consists of nine entire circles, in three rows of three. The central circle appears to have had a centaur, the fore-legs only of which remain. It probably represented Chiron and Achilles. In the circle above is Bacchus; in that below, Silenus on an ass; that on the right represents Actæon, torn in pieces by his dogs; the other on the left is destroyed. The angle medallions—three of which are preserved—contain heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora. As in the former pavement, so in this, we are not disposed to agree to the “trousers” and “shoes” of Silenus, nor can we at all consent to the opinion that, as the antlers are but beginning to shoot out of the head of Actæon, and the metamorphose is only commencing, Actæon must have “smelt strongly of venison,” or his dogs would not have attacked him. Artists, in depicting such representations, selected always such points as best explain the nature of the history: the induction, therefore, “that the dogs of the ancients never followed by sight as our greyhound,” must be regarded as gratuitous. Had the transformation completely taken place, it would have been a deer-chase, not a representation of Actæon.

The three heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora, follow in Plates III., IV., and V. They are drawn with great freedom and breadth of composition: that of Pomona is very fine, but the Ceres is remarkably beautiful.

The description of the pavements is followed by an interesting analysis of the materials of the tessellæ, including a Report by Dr. A. Voelcker on the composition of ruby-coloured glass. On the discovery of this pavement, the head of Flora appeared to be crowned with green leaves and flowers. The colour of the flowers being of a more dusky hue than that of the leaves, led the authors to examine the pavement more minutely, and they discovered that the tessellæ of which these parts were formed, consisted of bright ruby-coloured glass, the surface of which had become oxidized, and changed to this green colour. This circumstance is worthy of observation, as pavements in other parts may exist, the design of which might be incorrectly published, from ignorance of this fact. In these pavements, glass is used where broad masses of colour are required; but in those mosaics of Italy which were executed by Greek artists, glass is employed, not so much for local colour, as to give delicacy in the detail and finishing.

The next chapter describes the various modes of constructing tessellated floors, and it is rightly remarked, that the existence of “suspensuræ” is not always an evidence of their being remains of baths. Though in Italy and more southern regions this is invariably the practice, in the cold damp climate of the north it was requisite to keep the pavement dry and warm, in order to render the house habitable, otherwise it would have been necessary to cover the mosaic constantly with matting, which would conceal the beauty of the ornament. The larger pavement is remarkable, in being partly on a solid foundation and partly suspended on pilæ, the reason of which manifestly is, that hot flues under one-half of the pavement were considered capable of warming sufficiently the whole apartment: and, therefore, Mr. Tucker’s opinion that this room served the double

purpose of a *Triclinium hybernium* and of a *Triclinium æstivum*, cannot be entertained. If any difference existed, the portion of the room over the hollow pavement would naturally be the warmest in winter and the coolest in summer, and, consequently, at all times preferable: besides, the distribution of pavement so universally employed for *Triclinia* does not here exist; and, moreover, by this supposition, this beautiful mosaïc would have been divided in two by a partition.

The exteriors of Roman houses were far from being, as supposed by the authors, "inornate." From the paucity of openings in the lower floor, this portion of the exterior was generally very simple in its treatment. Pilasters occupied the quoins and doorways, but the remainder of the wall was plain. In the upper floors, however, there is reason to believe that greater richness and freedom prevailed. From the beauty of the pavements, and from the circumstance that ashlarèd stone was discovered on the exterior of the walls, we feel convinced that the exterior of this house must have corresponded in character and importance with the interior.

It is with great pleasure that we find further investigations are about to be made (p. 21), especially as the smaller pavement was discovered merely by an "experimental shaft," and it is very desirable that the entire plan of this magnificent dwelling should be exposed to light, even should the modern Portici be sacrificed in order to recover the ancient Herculaneum. The plan, as at present given (p. 62), is so exceedingly indefinite—not a single door being indicated—that it is perfectly impossible even to guess at the distribution of the mansion. It is very certain, however, that the arrangement proposed in page 70, has no analogy with that of a Roman villa. If we might hazard an opinion from consideration of the character of the mosaics, without reference to the plan of the dwelling, we would suggest, that from the representations of Actæon, and of Chiron and Achilles, these rooms might have formed a portion of the Gynæceum of the mansion.

We cannot close the book, without noticing the great care with which these pavements have been copied and engraved. Complete tracings were taken of the mosaics by Mr. T. Cox, which were then coloured on the spot: and these fac-similes were then reduced by the Talbotype apparatus by Mr. Philip De La Motte, thus ensuring the most perfect accuracy.

We rejoice to see so numerous a list of subscribers, and that the Archaeological Institute have so greatly promoted its publication: and we feel assured that the book will eventually force its way into every antiquarian library.

3.—GIO. ORTI MANARA. *Di un Antico Monumento dei tempi Romani che trovasi nella terra delle Stelle presso Verona.* 8vo. Ver. 1848.

IMBUED with love for his native city, and meditating on its ancient glory, derived from the importance of its geographical position as one of the keys of Northern Italy, and from the remarkable vestiges of ancient monuments which attest its former power and opulence, the Conte Orti has proposed to himself "to collect together all the documents which refer to such monuments, to examine them with diligence and attention, and to delineate them with scrupulous fidelity and care, in order that he may be enabled to describe them with requisite accuracy and precision." Various works have already appeared from his pen, and we may shortly

expect a very interesting description of the excavations which he has conducted at the Villa of Catullus on the Lago di Gada.

The present pamphlet treats of a subterranean viaduct and conduit, the former of which gives access to two small chambers, one of which is decorated with a mosaie pavement and fresco paintings. Santa Maria delle Stelle derives its name from a stella found in one of the above-mentioned chambers. It is near Quinto, a village so called because five Roman miles from the city. The monument appears to have been unexplored by Maffei; while Dionisi, Venturi, Da Persico, and Bennassuti, considered it to be a Cave dedicated to Jupiter, or Mercury Trophonius. Others, again, from the supply of water, have considered the chambers to have been baths. Conte Orti refutes these opinions, and establishes clearly that they served as the sepulchral vaults, or columbaria, of the individual who laid down the conduit. The entrance is by a flight of steps, on descending which is the gallery or viaduct, about four feet high. At a little distance is a square chamber, ten feet high, communicating with two vaults, the further side of which is formed into a semicircle. They measure nineteen feet six inches by fifteen feet; they are thirteen feet high, and are ventilated and lit by small shafts from above. Beyond this are two larger shafts, from the further of which an inclined plane leads to the source of water. The stella or cippus found in one of the chambers bears the following inscription:—

POMPONIAE
ARISTOCLI
AE
ALUMNAE.

4.—EDWARD GERHARD. *Mykenische Allerthümer*. 4to. Berlin, 1850.

THIS pamphlet will be interesting to the architect, from its elucidation of the symbolic character of the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ. The learned archæologue endeavours to point out the connexion which these animals had with the worship of Io. The text is accompanied with a folding plate, in which is a representation of the Gate of the Lions, and of a terra cotta figure of the metamorphose of Io, found at Centorbi, in Sicily.

5.—EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A. *A History of Architecture*. Masters, Aldersgate-street. 8vo. London. 1849.

THE title is a general one; and the subject requires great experience, profound knowledge, and, above all, an enlarged mind, and an unbiassed judgment. The Author, however, is an ecclesiologist. He acknowledges himself to be devotedly attached to Teutonic forms, and puts forward the engraving of a church in the perpendicular style as the frontispiece to his work. Instead, therefore, of writing a history of architecture, he writes an eulogium on Gothic architecture; and instead of treating Gothic architecture in a broad and comprehensive manner, he confines all the references and examples to ecclesiastical buildings, (p. xvii.)

As it is not the province of this journal to treat of Gothic art, we turn at once to the chapters which touch upon classic architecture. He informs us that this branch of his subject is “little more than a compilation from other writers” (p. 8). We find, however, that he holds extreme, and we trust peculiar views. He begins

by asserting that "Gothic architecture is beyond all comparison the noblest effort of the art" (10); that "the products of Grecian heathenism neither can nor ought to be reproduced in Teutonic Christendom" (106). He affirms that "the Ionic and Corinthian orders are modifications, if not corruptions, of the Doric" (104); that "the Ionic can hardly be said to be the development of any idea" (111); that the Erechtheum "is as great an absurdity as anything that Vitruvius or Palladio could have produced" (117); that the choragic monument of Lysicrates, that of Thrasyllus, and the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes "could have been far better carried out in the Romanesque or Gothic" styles (120, 121); that "in domestic architecture their style must have failed" (131); and he regards the Elgin marbles, in their present position, as mere antiquities (108).

In the next chapter, which treats of Roman architecture, he affirms that it is simply the exceeding excellence of the two elements—the perfect loveliness of Grecian detail, corrupted as it was by its Roman imitators, and the magnificent boldness of the genuine Roman construction—"that saves any of its productions from absolute hideousness" (140).

In the concluding chapter, which treats of the revival of the classic styles, he says, "Italian architecture must be looked upon as simply detestable" (444). He acknowledges St. Paul's to be a grand building, "wretched as is its style, glaring, and even ludicrous, as are its individual defects" (446). He describes the lingering adherence, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the old northern and Christian forms, as "the material reflection of that Catholic movement in the English Church, which has *immortalized* the names of Andrewes and *Laud*,* and a host of inferior worthies" (440).

Something of this *Catholic* feeling we fancy we perceive in other passages. Thus, not to speak of the "demons of heathendom" in St. Paul's (446), he says of other cathedrals, "the *fabric* of Ely and Westminster may be renewed; but *while the laity throng the choir*, and pagan nudities stand unrebuked, the *Church* is unrestored" (451).

Several glaring errors might be pointed out—as that the Greeks never placed one colonnade above another (129); that the whole end and aim of Grecian architecture was to produce an exterior (130); and that the Doric column had no entasis (110), &c. &c.: but we abstain.

Such is the book which has been sent to us for the expression of our approbation!—such the tenets to which we are expected to subscribe!

6.—ARCHIT. ARCHÆOL. AND HIST. SOCIETY OF CHESTER. *Journal*. Part I.
8vo. July, 1850.

WE are delighted to see an Archæological Society springing up in the good old city of Chester, and trust that the ample materials which they have before them in their own city will be amply worked out. In Part I. we find, among other papers, a description, by the Rev. W. H. Massie, of a Roman wooden bridge, found buried

* *Laud*!—that Christian prelate and "worthy" of the Catholic Church, who cropped the ears and slit the noses of those who dared to question the authority of the Church.

fourteen feet under the silt at Birkenhead, pp. 55 and 68. This paper will be found very interesting, from the singularity of the bridge being built of wood, and from the evidences which the author adduces of the great alterations, both of land and water, which the neighbouring country has undergone.

- 7.—EDMUND GETTY, M.R.I.A. *Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland.* 4to. Belfast, 1850. Hodgson, 13, Paternoster-row; Hodges and Smith, Dublin; Marcus Ward and Co. Belfast.

IN establishing an Archæological Journal of classic art, we might have expected that that most ancient nation, the Chinese, would not long defer advancing their claim to honourable distinction. The work which they have sent us is a collection of sixty seals, all of which are in the form of a small eube, with a monkey at the top, serving as a handle, which it would be profaneness to say is anything but classic in its drawing. The impressions are accompanied with five translations, by which we are enabled to judge of their general accuracy. The mottoes are as vague and strange as any that are enclosed in bons-bons. No. 1. *To sing with the wind and play with the moon*; 6. *Plumtrees and bamboos*; 17. *Intimate with all the Savans of the world*. Forty-six of these seals were found in different parts of Ireland; but how they got there no one at present has been able to explain. Chinese vases have been found at Thebes and other parts of Egypt, but whether brought there by the ancient Egyptians, the Romans, or even the Arabs, is uncertain. On one of these was found the following motto:—*The flower opens, and lo! another year.*

- 8.—MARCUS WARD AND CO. *St. Patrick's Bell, and its Jewelled Shrine.* Small folio. Belfast, 1850. Hodgson, 13, Paternoster-row; Hodges and Smith, Dublin; Marcus Ward and Co. Belfast.

ALTHOUGH we have as great respect for that preacher of pure Christianity, St. Patrick, as any Irishman possibly can, we are not able to say much in commendation of his bell. It is of a square form, and composed of two pieces of sheet iron rudely riveted together, without any attention to shape or ornament, and must have made about as delightful music as any broken kettle. It is, indeed, almost as ugly as "our black lady of Loreto," and, like it, is enclosed in a costly and magnificent shrine. This latter is of brass, inlaid with gold and silver and precious stones. But what gives it the greatest merit is the beauty of the arabesques and ornaments, which partake much of an Oriental character.

The birds, the twisted "serpents" or lizards, and the scroll-work, so closely resemble the ornamental writing of the East, that we might almost believe some hidden signification is expressed therein. The sides are all different in design, and a separate plate is given of each.

The work has been got up as a specimen of Irish chromo-lithography, and its execution is so beautiful, that we sincerely hope Irish artists will henceforward be employed in the publication of Irish works, whether they be on literature, science, or antiquity.

XVIII.

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

II.

Collections from the ARCHÄOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG herausgeben von EDUARD GERHARD. 4to. Berlin, 1843—1850 inclusive. Vols. I.—IV.

[The letter A denotes Anzeiger; B, Beilage; and D, Denkmäler.]

- Abacus.* Athenischer— C. BÖCKH, iii. 42
Agora. Ueber die Märkte hellenischer Städte. E. CURTIUS, ii. 292
Amphitheatre. See *Constantinople*.
Archäologische Bibliographie. i. 216, ii. 4, iii. 4, 195, iv. 4, 131.
 Besides very copious Lists in ii. B. Nos. i. ii. iv. v. and vii.—x.
 iii. 13,* 27,* 46,* 59,* 78,* and 93.*
 iv. A. 45, 79, 101, 127, 157, 181, and 213.
Aricia. Discoveries at— LUDWIG ROSS, iii. 2, 9
Asia Minor. Griechische Inschriften. Falkenerischen Sammlung. iv. A. 43, 168
Assyria. Discoveries in— i. 381; ii. 51,* 70,* 107,* 379,* iii. 161; iv. A. 51, 71
Athens. Discoveries at— LUDWIG ROSS, iii. 2, 9
 ——— über des Theseion zu— E. CURTIUS, i. 97
Branchidæ. Die Statuen am heiligen Wege der Branchiden. L. ROSS, iv. D. 130
Carthage. Karthagische Alterthümer. H. BARTH, iv. A. 147
 ————— aus Liverpool. iv. A. 148
Chiusi. Clusinische Wandgemälde. EMIL. BRAUN, iii. 310
Cologne. See *Mosaic*.
Constantinople. Amphitheatre at— C. BÖCKH, iv. A. 22
Corfu. Ueber die Insel der Phäaken. G. von ECKENBRECHER, ii. 133
Corinth. Die Quelle Pirene auf akrokorinth, und das Kraneion unterhalb Korinth.
 C. GÖTTLING, i. 326
Cos. Discoveries at, by Prof. Ross:—Temple of Ceres Augusta, i. 299; Friesplatten
 von Asklepiostempel, ii. 281; Das Brunnenhaus der Businnia, iv. D. 241; and
 the beautiful Ionie Heroum of Charmylos, i. 299; iv. D. 241.
Crimea. Discoveries in the—. Griechisches in Russland. iv. A. 8
Cyprus. The Island Kurias, off—. Kurion, und das Heiligthum des Apollon
 Hylates auf Kypros. LUDWIG ROSS, ii. 99
Cypselus. Composition des Kastens des Cypselus. T. BERGK, ii. 150, 167, 182
 ————— OTTO JAHN, iv. D. 191
Cyrene. Das Griechische Theater in—. H. BARTH, iii. 233
Egypt. Notice of Dr. Lepsius's Discoveries. i. 78, 237
Egyptian Art. Ägyptisches aus Etrurien. E. GERHARD, i. 308
Erechtheum. Neueste Forschungen über das—von Bötticher. Notice of, iv. A. 120
Etruscan Art. See *Chiusi* and *Museum Gregorianum*.
Excavations. Report on— i. 209; ii. 1, 201; iii. 1, 194; iv. A. 1
Fountains. Ueber Städtische Wasserbauten der Hellenen. E. CURTIUS, iii. 19

Fountains. See *Corinth*.

Halicarnassus. Halikarnass und das Mausoleum. . . . L. URLICHS, iii. 169
 ————— . . . E. G., iii. 169, 177, 81*

————— Sculptures. S. BIRCH, iii. 202

Hecate. Dreifache Hecate. Marmorbild im Königl. Museum zu Leiden. . . i. 132

Kalymna. Terra Cottas from— iii. 277

Karabel. Ueber das Felsenrelief zu Karabel. R. LEPSIUS, ii. 271

Labyrinth. See *Egypt*.

Laocoon. Ueber den— F. G. WELCKER, iii. 83*

Lares. Ueber den Hausgottes dienst der alten Griechen. Vortrag. von Prof. Petersen.

Notice of, iv. A. 115

Lindos. Discoveries at—Temples of Jupiter, and of Minerva Lindia. L. ROSS, i. 300

Mausoleum. Roman Monument between Mizda and Kasr Ghurian in Africa.

Discovered by H. BARTH, iv. A. 187

Mosaic at Cologne. i. 271

Museum. Biondi, Monumenti Amaranziani. Notice of, ii. LXII.

————— British—Der Bronzensammlung. TH. PANOFKA, ii. 220

————— Disney Collection. iii. 157

————— Gregorianum, Rom. Notice of, i. 94

————— Louvre. Marmorsäle des— iii. 150

————— Mantua. Sculpturen zu— E. GERHARD, ii. 353

Niobe. Tochter der—in Königl. Mus. zu Berlin. Ditto, i. 301

Olympia. Discoveries at— iii. 2, 8

Paintings. Wall—See *Chiusi* and— i. 213

Parthenon. Pediment-Groups of—. Alte Denkmäler, erklärt von F. G. Welcker.

Erste Theil, Gott. 1849 Notice of, iv. A. 177

Phoenicians. Zur Kunst der Phönicier. . . . H. BARTH, iii. 326, 346, 362, 388

Pompeii. Haus des M. Lucretius. iii. 26,* iv. A. 8

————— TH. PANOFKA, iii. 56,* 110, 142

Rhamnus. Der Kleine Tempel in— L. ROSS, iv. D. 167

Rhodes. Felsengräber auf— Ditto, iv. D. 209

Rome. Discoveries at— Ditto, iii. 2, 9

————— TH. MOMMSEN, ii. 226

————— W. HENZEN, iv. A. 165

————— House in the Via Graziosa. Dr. E. BRAUN, iv. A. 27, 166

————— On the Colossal Group on Monte Cavallo. i. 238

————— Ueber die Lage der Curia Hostilia. L. URLICHS, ii. 306

Sculpture. Discovery of Ancient— i. 212; ii. 3, 13; iii. 2

Sesostris. Das Sogenannte Monument des—bei Smyrna. . . H. KIEPERT, i. 33

Smyrna. See *Sesostris*, and Head of Statue from— iv. D. 1

Syme. Tumulus auf— LUDWIG ROSS, iv. D. 134

Telos. Discoveries at—Temples of Minerva and of Jupiter. . . . Ditto, i. 300

Theatre. See *Cyrene* and *Amphitheatre*.

Tiryns. Die Gallerien und die Stoa von Tirynth. . . . C. GÖTTLING, ii. 17

Tomb. Ueber die Motive antiker Grabmäler. . . . M. PETERSEN, iv. A. 220

Trophonius. Ueber ein Marmorkopf des Fürsten Talleyrand. TH. PANOFKA, i. 1

Xanthus. Das Harpyienmonument von Xanthos. Ditto, i. 49, 65

————— Das Denkmal des Harpagos zu Xanthos, und dessen Trümmer in Brit-
 tischen Museum. E. GERHARD and EMIL. BRAUN, i. 353, 371

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. III. — JULY, 1851.

XIX.

REMARKS
ON THE COLLECTIONS OF ANCIENT ART
IN THE MUSEUMS OF ITALY, THE GLYPTOTHEK AT MUNICH, AND THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE following remarks originally formed part of a report drawn up by the Author after visiting the Museums of Florence, Rome, and Naples, and the Glyptothek at Munich, in the autumn of 1848, and officially submitted to the Trustees of the British Museum. The cursory survey of Foreign Museums which the Author was enabled to make in this tour suggested to his mind some general conclusions, which he thought worth recording while the impression of what he had seen was still fresh in his memory; and it appeared to him that these views might be most clearly and compendiously stated by comparing the several collections he had recently visited in respect of their extent and riches,—the British Museum serving as the standard of comparison for them all. The subject-matter of this comparison being very varied, both in form and material, and the estimate to be formed being one rather of qualities than of quantities,—requiring, not a mere statement of the number of sculptures, vases, or coins contained in the several museums, but a careful appreciation of their relative values, according to some recognised standard, it may be convenient to class the objects to be compared under one general head as works of art, and to consider them rather in their original order of produc-

tion than according to any system of arrangement grounded on their differences of form and material; to divide the whole history of Ancient Art into periods, and inquire what each museum contributes as examples of the several successive styles, and to consider sculptures, bronzes, vases, gems, coins, terra cottas, and other antiquities, as a whole, capable of arrangement in the mind in one great chronological series.

For the illustration of that primeval period in the history of art which precedes, as it is believed, the earliest productions of Greek civilization, and reveals to us two distinct sources from which that civilization may have been derived, the collections of the British Museum are unrivalled. In no other of the museums here under consideration is the character of Egyptian art so clearly and emphatically stated; none exhibit so many monuments of the best period of that art, and of such colossal size. In the British Museum alone are these works placed in immediate and instructive juxtaposition with that style to which they form the most singular contrast—the style of Phidias, as seen in the sculptures of the Elgin room. The Egyptian collections of Naples and Munich are comparatively insignificant. In the Vatican, indeed, we find the same great impressive monuments of the best period, but these have not altogether escaped those restorations and retouchings which most works of art in Italy have, till lately, undergone.

The Assyrian sculptures brought by Mr. Layard from Nineveh are documents for the history of art, and, perhaps, for the history of the world, which have no equivalents in any of the Continental museums, the Louvre only excepted. They throw a new and unlooked-for light on the question which has occupied archæology for more than a century—the origin of Greek art; and, when so arranged as to exhibit clearly to the eye the peculiarities of their style and treatment, they will form the base of a new comparison and more scientific arrangement of the archaic monuments of Greece, Asia Minor, and Etruria.

The mention of these recent acquisitions leads to the next point in this inquiry,—to what extent do the museums here compared severally contribute to our knowledge of the most ancient Greek art?

It is probable that the earliest productions of this period which we possess are either works in hammered metal, (*σφυρήλατα*,) or pottery. Of the former class, more objects have been found in the Etruscan tombs than in any other part of the ancient world, and it is in the Museo Gregoriano, the collection of Signor Campana at Rome, and in the bronzes from Polledrara, recently acquired by the British Museum,* that we may best study the metallurgy of the Homeric ages.

These collections not only show us the first rude attempts to represent the human form, but acquaint us with the shapes of the weapons and implements of the period, and thus enable us to compare the relative progress of art and mechanical skill. It is probable that no more ancient specimens of Greek pottery have been discovered than the earliest Athenian vases on the one hand, painted with simple ornaments, and the earliest Etrurian on the other, rudely decorated with parallel rows of animals, and presenting strong affinities with Oriental art. The comparison of the earliest Etruscan remains with the monuments recently brought from Assyria by Mr. Layard may, it is conceived, lead to some very curious deductions.†

As we advance from this Homeric period of Greek history to a more civilized age, the examples of archaic art multiply—the classes under which they may be arranged become more complicated. The art of casting in bronze is gradually substituted for the hammered work, and we may judge of its perfection by the magnificent specimen in the museum at Florence—the Chimæra;‡ the Wolf of the Capitol at Rome,§ a

* MICALI, *Mon. Ined. Firenze*, 1844. Tav. 6, fig. 2, and Tav. 8.

† Compare the curious vases found with the bronzes already noticed at Polledrara, MICALI, *Mon. Ined. Fir.* 1844. Tavv. 4, 5, 7.

‡ MÜLLER, *Denkmäler d. a. Kunst.* i. Taf. 58, No. 287. § *Ibid.* No. 288.

work inferior both in art and preservation; and the Falterona Mars in the British Museum.*

The progress of vase-painting, from the representation of figures and animals to the more difficult task of delineating the human figure, may be very clearly traced out in the Museo Gregoriano, the Florentine, and our own collection. No specimen of *Italian* fictile art of this period can be compared with the Clitias vase at Florence,† while the Panathenaic vase discovered by Mr. Burgon at Athens, and now in the British Museum,‡ is an unrivalled example of the archaic style of *Greece*.

Though rich in pottery and works of metal, Italy is poor in marble sculpture of an early period. The statues and bas-reliefs in the museums of Rome and Naples, alleged to be archaic, will be found, with a very few exceptions, to be imitations executed in a later age. Among the most instructive examples of *true* archaic sculpture are the Harpy Tomb from Xanthus, and the small marble statue from Polledrara,§ both of which are in the British Museum; the bas-relief in the Villa Albani;|| the head of Juno in the villa Ludovisi;¶ and, for the later or transition period, the Æginetan marbles in the British Museum.**

These isolated specimens of archaic sculpture may be best combined and studied as parts of one great development, if we view them in connexion with the archaic coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily in the British Museum. This series, unrivalled for rarity and preservation, presents to us more synoptically and

* MICALI, *Mon. Ined.* 1844. Tav. 12.

† *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch. di Roma*, iv. Tav. 55-7.

‡ MILLINGEN, *Ancient Ined. Mon.* i. pl. 1-3.

§ MICALI, *Mon. Ined. Fir.* 1844. Tav. 6, fig. 1.

|| MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 11, No. 40; ZOEGA, *Basreliefen di Roma*, Tav. 41. A cast of this may be seen in the British Museum.

¶ Not the head commonly known as the Ludovisi Juno, but a more archaic one, described, PLATNER u. BUNSEN, *Roms Beschreibung*, iii. 2, p. 578, No. 4; but which, I believe, has never been engraved.

** The statue of Apollo in the British Museum, CLARAC, pl. 482 b, fig. 931 a, if not a copy executed in Roman times, would be another example of the transition period to which the Æginetan marbles belong.

continuously than any other class of monuments the history of Greek sculpture, from the year 700 B.C. to the time of the Persian war, the probable date of the Æginetan marbles, and demonstrates to the eye the progressive steps of that transition, by which the Æginetan style was developed into that of Phidias.

That which ancient authors affirm generally of the art of this period is proved by these coins in a number of particular instances: that which we conceive imperfectly from the brief and allusive expressions of Cicero (*Orat.* 18) and Quintilian, (*Inst.* xii.) is here made manifest even to the unpractised eye.

We may now regard the several museums under consideration in reference to that more perfect age of art, which may be conceived to range from the time of Pericles to that of Alexander the Great, and which, beginning with the school of Phidias, terminates with that of Praxiteles.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here the fact, that the Elgin marbles are the great examples of the art of this period.

They are the productions, not only of the best age, but of that school of art which the ancients themselves most esteemed; they are works neither executed to gratify individual caprice, nor on so small a scale as to be inadequate representations of a style, nor are they of uncertain date and locality, as vases, coins, or gems,—they are pre-eminently national monuments and historical documents, and are therefore of inestimable value in fixing the standard, by which all specimens of ancient art which have been preserved to us may be measured and classified.

These sculptures, when compared with the Phrygian frieze, show the difference between the art of Phidias, adequately carried out by the resources of a great people, and the same art checked and stunted from want of means,—the craftsman left to finish what the sculptor began. In the friezes from the Ionic Monument at Xanthus, again, we recognise the same style, transplanted at a subsequent period into a barbarous and ungenial climate, and, as it were, translated into a provincial dialect.

The new standard of criticism furnished by the Elgin

marbles has shown that, among the countless statues and bas-reliefs in the museums of Europe, very few can be pointed out worthy to take their place by the side of the undoubted works of Phidias. The works in the Vatican and other collections of Italy, which the antiquaries of that country still continue to assign to the school of the great artist, are, in the majority of instances, evidently copies, recollections, and translations of earlier designs.

The statue at Rome, known by the name of the Pasquino, which formed part of the group of Menelaus carrying off the body of Patroclus,* is believed by the best judges to have been executed in the time of Phidias, and, notwithstanding its mutilated and disfigured condition, enough of the original surface remains to show that this was a work of surpassing merit, and to justify the opinion of Bernini, who pronounced it the finest statue in Rome.

The two colossal figures on the Monte Cavallo have been connected by a very remote tradition with the names of Phidias and Praxiteles. In these two groups, the grandeur of the conception far transcends the execution, the proportions of the breast and shoulders of at least one of the figures seem planned on the same gigantic scale, and by the same master mind, as the torso of Neptune in the Elgin Room. The most probable conjecture about these statues is, that they were copied in the Augustan age from some colossal works of the great period of Greek art—perhaps of the masters whose names they bear.

The figures of wounded Amazons in the Capitol† and the Vatican,‡ two bas-reliefs, with a Gigantomachia, in the Vatican,§ several Minervas in the sculpture galleries of Rome and Naples, and the bust of Pericles in the Vatican,|| are all works

* *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. Tav. 19.

† *Mus. Capitol.* iii. Tav. 46. MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. pl. 31, No. 137.

‡ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. pl. 30, No. 138 a.

§ *Mus. Chiaram.* i. Tav. 17. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, *Roms Beschreibung*, ii. 2, p. 139.

|| *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. Tav. 29. Compare another copy of this head in the British Museum—*Mus. Marbles*, ii. pl. 32.

which we may connect more or less with the age of Phidias, and which present traces of his manner.

How much, however, that manner was lost in the process of copying, we have an opportunity of judging, when we compare the beautiful bas-relief of the Victories dragging along a bull, found near the Temple of Victory at Athens,* with the feeble repetitions of this group in the Vatican† and at Florence,‡ or the Canephora of the Nuovo Braccio§ in the Vatican with the Canephora of the Elgin Room,|| or the bas-relief of a horseman, in the Museo Chiaramonti,¶ with the group on the frieze of the Parthenon, from which it was copied.

The large bas-relief in the Villa Albani,** one in the court of the Ancient French academy at Rome,†† and a statue of Minerva‡‡ in the Villa Ludovisi, are executed with far greater freedom; and we may perhaps venture to consider these original works of the school of Phidias.

If, however, the Roman museums are thus wanting in examples of sculpture in the great style of the Parthenon, they possess in the Vulci vases of the Museo Gregoriano, and of the Campana Collection, evidence of the most precious kind for the history of art during this period.

These masterly sketches on clay must be regarded as relics of that great school of painting of which Polygnotus was the founder; they cannot be studied too much in connexion with the Elgin Marbles, and, like those sculptures, though in a less degree, they supply the standard by which we may judge of subsequent productions and other schools.

* Ross, *Die Akropolis von Athen*. pl. xiii. A.

† *Mus. Pio Clem.* v. Tav. 9. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, ii. 2, p. 159.

‡ MONGEZ, *Galerie de Florence*, tom. iv.

§ No. 132. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, ii. 2, p. 105. No. 132.

|| *Mus. Marbles*, ix. pl. 6.

¶ *Mus. Chiaram.* ii. Tav. 45.

** ZOEGA, *Basreliefen von Rom*. Tav. 51. WINCKELMANN, *Opere*, 1834. Tav. 98. (240).

†† BÖTTIGER, *Amalthea*, i. p. 161. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, iii. 3, p. 184.

‡‡ *Monum. dell' Inst. Arch. di Roma*, iii. Tav. 27.

No period in the history of Greek art is so obscure as the age of Praxiteles and Scopas. We have, from Pliny and other authors, names and incidental notices of some of the works of these artists and their contemporaries. We have, again, in different museums, works which correspond in subject with these names and notices; but we have no great historical monument like the Parthenon, declaring, once for all, those main features of style which we seek in vain to gather from mere verbal descriptions, or to discern in works from which, in the process of copying, the spirit of the original art has passed away.

With the exception of a few coins, the only remains that can be assigned on historical evidence to the period of Praxiteles, are the Budrum Marbles, and the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysicrates.

But these works are so ill preserved, that it is difficult, without a larger range of comparison, to seize the general characteristics of a style from such imperfect evidence. If we turn from these dated and historical monuments to works attributed to the same period on less sufficient grounds, we are liable to the kind of error which, before the discovery of the Elgin Marbles, led to such false views in regard to the art of Phidias; which caused copies to be mistaken for originals, and strained and perverted the brief allusions of ancient writers.

It would occupy too much space here to attempt an examination of the evidence on which the case of each particular attribution to the school of Scopas or Praxiteles has been supported, but thus much we may venture to state generally:—

1. That the family of Niobe, at Florence, admitting these sculptures to be later copies, are our best authority for the characteristics of the school of Scopas.
2. That the draped female torso, called a Niobid, in the Museo Chiaramonti,* is an original Greek work of the same school.
3. That the statues from the Ionic monument at Xanthus

* CLARAC, *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 578, No. 1245. *Mus. Chiaram.* ii. Tav. 17.

present some resemblances to the style of this torso in the treatment of the drapery, and are, perhaps, contemporary works, executed by inferior artists.

4. That the peculiar grace and tenderness which the ancients describe as the characteristics of the school of Praxiteles may be recognised in the general composition of those bas-reliefs with bacchanalian subjects, of which the Museo Borbonico, and the sculpture galleries at Rome and Munich, present so many examples;—in androgynous types, such as those of Apollo and Bacchus, and in other statues, which appear to be copies of works distinctly named by the ancient critics, such as the Satyr Anapauomenos,* the Apollo Sauroctonos,† and the Cupid bending his bow:‡ subjects of which several repetitions will be found in the museums of Europe.

The execution of these works is generally very inferior to the design, but in the torso called the Ilioneus, at Munich,§ the exquisite skill with which the idea of the artist is carried out seems to justify the opinion, that this work may be from the hand of Praxiteles, or some great artist in the same school.

The bronzes of Siris,|| and the medallions of Syracuse, which may be severally assigned to the Praxitelian age on probable grounds, show us with what wonderful skill the details of execution were given in this period. The engraved *Cista* of the Jesuits' College at Rome,¶ and many of the beautiful gold ornaments of the Campana collection and the Museo Gregoriano may likewise, perhaps, belong to this epoch.**

More ample materials exist for the history of Greek art during the interval between the reign of Alexander the Great

* MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 35, No. 143.

† *Ibid.* Taf. 36, No. 147 a.

‡ CLARAC, pl. 646 and 650.

§ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 34 e.

|| In the British Museum, engraved, Brøndsted, *Bronzes of Siris*.

¶ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 61, No. 309 a-b. See the beautiful work recently published on this *Cista* by Dr. Braun, and the work of Brøndsted, *Den Ficoniske Cista*.

** See the magnificent specimen, GERHARD, *Ant. Bildw.* Taf. 60.

and that of Augustus, which may be conveniently called the Macedonian period. We have, in the first place, a series of regal coins of the Syrian, Egyptian, Macedonian, and other dynasties, extending through this whole space of time.

Where a number of the finest specimens are arranged in chronological order,* this series, in reference to the history of art, forms a continuous chain of evidence; each regal coin may be regarded as a bas-relief in miniature, which tells us by its inscription when and where it was executed.

But this kind of evidence alone is not sufficient to develop the whole history of the art of a period.

We cannot, by a comparison of works so minute as coins, discern with readiness or certainty the great features of a style, and even if, after long and painful analysis, we succeed in discovering certain peculiarities of treatment which distinguish the coins of a particular era, we cannot, without collateral evidence, prove that such peculiarities characterised not only the numismatic art, but the contemporary sculpture generally of the period. This collateral proof we obtain, in the case of the Macedonian period, by a comparison of a series of regal coins, such as may be seen at the British Museum, with certain sculptures in the Italian galleries. These sculptures are of two classes—statues and busts of distinguished persons whom we know to have lived in the Macedonian period, and works like the Farnese Bull,† the Dying Gladiator, and the Laocoon, which may be assigned on special grounds, and with more or less of certainty, to the same era. Rome is particularly rich in portrait statues; we have the Demosthenes ‡ of the Vatican, the Aristotle of the Palazzo Spada, the Posidippus and Menander of the Vatican.§ At Munich is a statue of Alexander the Great, and three busts of him are preserved to us, one

* As in MÜLLER's *Denkmäler*, i. Taff. 52-4.

† MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 47, No. 215 a. ‡ *Mus. Chiaram.* ii. pl. 24.

§ *Mus. Pio Clem.* iii. pl. 15, 16.

in the Louvre, one in the museum of the Capitol, and one at Florence.* The Museo Borbonico possesses bronze busts of two of the Ptolemies from Herculaneum,† and portraits of Epicurus, Diogenes, and other celebrated characters of the age, are to be found in the large collections of busts at Naples‡ and at Rome. How many of these are later Roman copies from the original portraits cannot be always ascertained; but when compared with the regal coins of the Macedonian period, they present many interesting coincidences in the treatment of details, and the whole idea of the art of the age, gathered by this process of comparison, illustrates and corroborates Pliny's brief hints as to the changes of style introduced by Lysippus and his successors.

Of the works which do not, like original portraits, bear their own date, but which external evidence justifies us in assigning to the Macedonian period, the Farnese Bull seems to be the one of which the school and date are most satisfactorily established.

There seems no reason for doubting that this is the very group which Pliny mentions as having been executed by two artists of Tralles, and transported from Rhodes to Rome; and we may regard it as the best, if not the only example of that colossal style of sculpture, which had its origin in the south of Asia Minor, and was perfected by Chares of Lindus.

The Dying Gladiator, and the Ludovisi Arria and Pætus,§ are very probably copies of the bronze statues of Gauls, executed by Pyromachos about B.C. 240, to celebrate the triumphs of Attalus and Eumenes over the Gauls. Regarding such dates as these, not as fixed points, but as probable approximations, we may remark, that the Ariadne|| of the Vatican is a work of

* MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 39, 40.

† BARRÉ, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vii. pl. 18, 19, 20. ‡ *Ibid.* vii. pl. 7, 8.

§ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 48, No. 218. See his remarks, *Archäologie, d. a. Kunst.* Breslau, 1848. p. 162, s. 157*.

|| *Mus. Pio Clem.* ii. Tav. 44. CLARAC, pl. 704, No. 1669.

the same free, sketchy school as the Gladiator and Ludovisi group, while, again, the Towneley Homer seems an example of that picturesque style, of which we may trace the commencement on the coins of Pyrrhus and Agathocles, B.C. 280, which is more distinctly apparent in the head of Mithridates on his coins, B.C. 90, and which seems to have reached its climax in that last effort of ideal Greek sculpture, the Laocoon.*

We cannot with as much show of probability classify other works which have been assigned to the Macedonian epoch.

We may remark the striking resemblance in general treatment between the head of Alexander the Great on busts and coins,† the Barberini Faun,‡ and the torso of a Triton§ in the Vatican; we may recognise in all these works the same largeness of manner which in the Gladiator and the Ariadne becomes more careless and hurried in execution; we cannot decide positively whether the Belvedere Torso is an original work of the school of Lysippus, presenting some of those characteristics of his style which are briefly indicated by Pliny, or whether, as is perhaps more probable, it is rather a careful and laborious copy, made at a later period; we cannot prove the truth of what the most experienced living archæologists believe, that the Medicean Venus is a work of the Naturalisti school of the Macedonian period, which, degenerating from its great founder, Lysippus, gradually lost sight of the nobler ideal types of the earlier sculptors in a new and less intellectual seeking after Nature; we look earnestly in the museums of Europe for some example of the bronze art of Lysippus, and select with distrust and hesitation a few figures like the bronzes of Paramythia,|| which may be reduced copies of his great types of divinities, or

* Upon the whole, it seems more probable that the Laocoon is a work of the Augustan age. Pliny certainly seems to speak of it as of a work recently executed.

† MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 39.

‡ *Ibid.* ii. Taf. 40, No. 470.

§ *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. Tav. 35. CLARAC, pl. 745, No. 1806.

|| *Specimens of Sculpture*, published by Dilettanti Soc. i. pl. 32, 52, 53.

some clumsy Roman reproduction on a large scale, as the colossal bronze Hercules of the Museo Capitolino.*

Much light would probably be thrown on the Macedonian period by the study of gems and vitreous pastes. In the magnificent Florentine collection of gems, and the collection of pastes in the British Museum, are doubtless many accurate copies of celebrated statues, some by contemporary artists.

It is probable that much remains to be done for the classification of gems and pastes, by a comparison of those which can be assigned with certainty to the Macedonian period with coins and other monuments of the time. The great Farnese tazza† of the Museo Borbonico presents one of the grandest examples of the ancient cameo, and by a comparison of this work, which has been attributed by the best authorities to the period of the Ptolemies, with the portraits of Ptolemies on the St. Petersburg‡ and Vienna§ cameos, and with the coins of this and other contemporary dynasties, a more accurate analysis of the style of gem-engraving of the Macedonian period might be obtained.

The history of Greek painting has not, like that of sculpture, been revealed to us with momentary distinctness in one great historic monument like the Parthenon, nor has it been handed down to us step by step in a compendious series of documents, such as Greek coins. We must be content with such feeble reflections from the higher art as we can discern in the vase-pictures, and the engraved figures on *Cistas* and mirrors.

They are to us, for the paintings of the ancients what engravings of Marc Antonio, or the ware of Della Robbia, are to those who have not had the advantage of seeing the frescoes of Raffaello—the original sources of these designs.

Thus, as we recognise the severe and sculpturesque drawing

* TOFANELLI, &c. *Mus. Capitol. Rom.* 1846, p. 81, No. 24.

† MILLINGEN, *Anc. Ined. Mon.* ii. pl. 17.

‡ MÜLLER, *Denkmäler*, i. Taf. 51, No. 226 a. § *Ibid.* Taf. 51, No. 227 a.

of Polygnotus on the Vulci vases, so we may trace in the later Fictile Art and metallic engravings of the Basilicata, and of Southern Italy generally, the influence of those great masters, under whose teaching chiaroscuro and aerial perspective were slowly developed and perfected. These technical improvements, which may be partially traced by examining the series of engraved mirrors in the British Museum and in the Museo Gregoriano, are still more distinctly manifested in the magnificent collection of Campanian and Basilicata vases of the Museo Borbonico. It is in this museum that we may best study the causes which led to the decline and final extinction of Greek vase-painting. Just as, at the close of the 15th century, an ignorance of the true limits of art caused the attempt to produce, in painted glass, in the illuminations of MSS. and in the Raffaele ware, those marvels of chiaroscuro and colour which depend on the peculiar conditions of their own art, and cannot be transferred without detriment to a new vehicle and a new material, so did the Greek vase-painter feebly endeavour to reproduce, by his imperfect means and in his limited space, the refined and elaborate compositions of Apollodorus and the other great painters who were the admiration of his age. He abandoned the simple monograph, best suited to the severe architectonic forms of the vases he had to decorate; he made his work a gaud, by the introduction of motley colouring; and, conscious that he had overstepped the prescribed boundaries of his art, he called in plastic art to his aid, and thus the pure original proportions of Greek fictile art are disfigured and distorted by terra cotta figures and bas-reliefs introduced among the paintings, as we see in the later specimens of the Ruvo style.

Thus, as in the Laocoon, sculpture in its decline becomes picturesque, so in the vases of Ruvo we see a branch of painting gradually becoming the mere accessory to sculpture. As the later period of fictile art may be best appreciated in the Museo Borbonico in connexion with the terra cottas and other

remains found in the sepulchres of Southern Italy, so, in the British Museum and the Glyptothek at Munich, we may find a most instructive parallel in the contemporary polychrome style of the later Athenian vases.*

The Athenian like the Italian artist departed from the original simplicity and necessary conditions of his art, and called in the meretricious aid of colour, but the composition still retained much of that Phidias grace which distinguishes even the latest productions of the Athenian school. The beautiful monochrome sketch of the *Astragalizusæ* in the Museo Borbonico,† which bears the name of an Athenian artist, much resembles in style of drawing the later polychrome vases, and is probably of the Macedonian period.

Of the last period of ancient art, from Augustus to Constantine, but a meagre and inadequate idea can be formed without studying the collections of Rome and Naples. For the purposes of the present comparison, it will be sufficient to consider the works of the Imperial period under a few general heads.

First, the Ideal sculpture of what may be called the Augustan age of art, this term being here applied somewhat more comprehensively than its literal acceptance would warrant, so as to include the period of Trajan and Hadrian.

The Ideal statues, which may be regarded as pre-eminently the types of the Augustan age, such for instance as the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Meleager*‡ and *Mercury*§ of the Vatican, the *Venus*|| of Capua, the *Ludovisi Mars*,¶ must be regarded generally as the productions of Greek art subjected to Roman influence, the Greek design being so modified as to please a Roman taste.

* See examples of these vases, STACKELBERG, *Gräber d. Hell.* Taf. 44-8.; and in the collection of the British Museum, No. 2835, and 2847.

† *Antich. d'Ercol.* i. Tav. 1, p. 4.

‡ *Mus. Pio Clem.* ii. Tav. 34.

§ *Ibid.* i. Tav. 7.

|| MILLINGEN, *Inedited Mon.* ii. pl. 4, 5.

¶ R. ROCHETTE, *Mon. Ined.* pl. xi. CLARAC, pl. 635, No. 1432.

Augustan art was formed from Greek models, about the same time and in much the same manner as Augustan literature. The parallel is, indeed, not quite complete. For while the Romans ingrafted their new literature on an original stock of native oratory and native ballad-poetry, the process of adaptation being their own work, Greek art was rather transplanted than ingrafted, the cultivation of the exotic was entrusted to strangers and hirelings. Augustan literature, in a word, was formed by the Romans themselves—Augustan art by Greek artists working under Roman dictation.

Admitting these essential differences in the mode in which these two foreign influences were brought to bear on the Roman mind, we may trace in their results severally very curious and suggestive analogies.

When we say of Augustan literature that it was borrowed from the Greek, we include under this general term every kind of derivative process, from the most servile translation to the most poetical adaptation. We know that Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Virgil, Cicero, were all indebted to Greek models, as well as Terence, or Ovid, or Seneca, but severally in a different sense, and in a different degree. Each borrowed according to his wants, each adapted and transformed with more or less originality, according to the powers of his mind.

Thus it is with Augustan art. Some of it is mere translation, more or less faithful; the Venus of the Chigi Palace,* which we know from an inscription on its base to be the repetition of a statue in Asia Minor, is evidently copied in a very accurate and intelligent manner.

The bas-relief with the group of a horseman, resembling those of the frieze of the Parthenon in the Vatican, or that of two Victories dragging a bull, are all executed after designs in the school of Phidias, and are examples of tame and spiritless reproduction.

* *Mus. Capitol. Rom.* 1782, iv. p. 392.

Again, the Apollo Belvedere, the Meleager, the Mercury of the Vatican, or the Venus of Capua in the Museo Borbonico, are, perhaps, rather studies from earlier types than direct copies: the simplicity of motive and purity of line of the original design seem modified and impaired under the influence of ideas alien to the genius of Greek art, and destined gradually to enfeeble and paralyze its vital energy and degrade its form.

How, by a long course of copying and adaptation, such a change in the character of art was wrought, we see very clearly exemplified in such works as the colossal Nile* and Tiber† of the Vatican and the Louvre. It is obvious that these representations of river-gods are based on that original Greek type which we see so nobly embodied in the statue called the Ilissus of the Parthenon; the general reclining attitude is the same, but the whole motive of the art is changed; new symbols and accessories are added—an inferior idea is expressed in more copious but less eloquent language. The same remarks would apply to other examples of what may be called the Roman Ideal in sculpture, and which may be best studied in the numerous allegorical figures in the galleries of Italy, with the collateral illustration of Roman coins.

These shades and gradations of Augustan art can only be recognised after frequent and toilsome traversing of that great field of observation which the museums of Italy open to the archæologist.

The process of tracing out these distinctions in art discloses, as has been already remarked, certain singular analogies with the acknowledged phenomena of Roman literature. Thus, it might be shown that the heroes of the *Æneid* differ from the heroes of the *Iliad*, as the type of the Apollo or the Meleager differs from the type of the Elgin Theseus. Phidias and Homer

* *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. pl. 38. MILLIN. pl. 74, No. 305.

† *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. pl. 39. MILLIN. pl. 74, No. 308.

studied from the nature around them: the characters and forms of the heroic age stand before us with the distinctness of portraits drawn from the life—the details are so given as to combine the reality of individual truth with a sublime ideal conception.

In the Augustan age, the poet or the artist who sought to represent heroic characters found no inspiration in the luxurious and corrupt civilization of which he breathed the atmosphere; in such a society, he found no heroes of Marathon, no Greek athletes—nothing wherewith to construct his types, no models to work from.

He did not attempt to compose from nature; he borrowed his characters ready made from those "*Exemplaria Græca*" which were the admiration of his age. Thus it is that the heroes of the great epic of the Greeks re-appear in the Augustan *Æneid* like mere sketches, very graceful and pleasing, but somewhat indistinct and shadowy, while in Ovid the want of true heroic dignity in his characters is concealed by the meretricious ornaments in which his poetry is arrayed; and so, again, the Augustan statues, beautiful as they seem at first sight, disappoint and elude closer inspection by the meagreness and indecision of their anatomy; and some of the most celebrated, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Payne Knight Mercury, have a theatrical air irreconcilable with the great conception they are intended to embody.

The ideal art of the Augustan age must be studied not only in the statues of the museums of Rome, Naples, and Florence, but also in the frescoes, the bronzes, and the larger bas-reliefs.

The discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum are of peculiar value for the history of art. The frescoes and mosaics show us the character of Greek painting at its close, as the Vulci vases show us its earlier stages; and we learn from these remains of the Augustan age what Pliny briefly hints, that in the decline of the art, mere mechanical dexterity and quickness of execution

came to be more prized than higher and more legitimate excellence. We see at Pompeii the very style of landscape painting which Vitruvius* condemns as untrue to nature and unsuited to the dignity of architecture; we learn thence what was the class of subject and composition preferred by the Roman of the Augustan age as the decoration of his dwelling, and, as it were, the familiar inmate of his home,—we see art, not grave and earnest as in the great public buildings of the capital, but in its more lyric and sportive moments,—we are reminded in these frescoes of the careless gaiety and voluptuous ease of the life of Horace,—they form the natural illustrations and companions to his Odes, as in the early Greek vases we find our best commentary on the poetry of Pindar.

Though Pompeii and Herculaneum have not contributed sculptures in marble equal to the statues of the Augustan age found at Rome, this deficiency is atoned for by the number and variety of the works in metal which they have produced; in its collection of ancient bronzes the Museo Borbonico surpasses all other museums. The same remarks which have been already made on the Augustan sculptures may be applied to almost all the bronzes representing ideal subjects found at Pompeii and Herculaneum; there is the same borrowing or copying from Greek models, and the same short-coming in reference to the original.

The larger bas-reliefs, of which so many interesting specimens exist at Rome, such as the series in the Palazzo Spada† and those of Endymion‡ and of Perseus§ in the Museo Capitolino, are most of them rather picturesque in composition, and when we compare them with the frescoes of Pompeii, we recognise in both the same class of subjects and general characteristics of style. These bas-reliefs probably belong to the Augustan age.

* vii. c. 5. § 36.
3, pp.441-5.

† BRAUN, *Zwölf Basreliefen*. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, iii.

‡ *Mus. Capitol.* iv. pl. 53.

§ *Ibid.* pl. 52. MILLIN. pl. 96, No. 388.

Next in importance to the class of art which has been here considered, is what may be termed the historical art of the Imperial period, which seems to have attained its fullest development in the great public works of Trajan, and which we can still study in the spiral frieze of his column and the bas-reliefs from his triumphal arches.

This great monumental style is peculiarly Roman; it narrates in simple and majestic language the chronicle of imperial greatness—and as the Roman writers are never so original as when inspired by the theme of their country and its glory, so sculpture, when thus devoted to the purposes of historical record, assumed a new and independent form; it no longer attempted to revive or to rival the beautiful ideal creations of the Greeks; it was deficient in the charm of poetry, but it had an eloquence of its own,—the eloquence of perspicuous and dignified prose.

The monuments of Rome afford almost the only examples on a great scale of this historic style of sculpture; it cannot be studied to advantage except in reference to the portrait art of the Romans, which is its collateral illustration, as biography is that of general history.

The series of busts and statues in the Vatican, the Capitol, the Museo Borbonico, and at Florence, show how successfully this class of art was cultivated by the Romans, and maintained at a high standard of excellence down to a very late period of the empire.

The busts of Brutus in the collection of the Capitol,* of Augustus in the Vatican,† of Scipio Africanus in the Palazzo Rospigliosi,‡ the statues of the Balbus family, and many of the larger Herculaneum bronzes in the Museo Borbonico, may be mentioned as instructive examples of the skill of the Roman artist in Ethography, or the delineation of character.

* In the Palazzo dei Conservatori. VISCONTI, *Iconographie Romaine*, pl. 2.

† *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. Tav. 40.

‡ FABRI, *Imagines Illustrium*, No. 49, as cited by Visconti, *Iconogr. Rom.* i. p. 50.

In the library of the Vatican are a number of very curious miniatures painted on glass, which were executed about the time of Gordian; these, with the figures of Gladiators on the mosaic of the baths of Caracalla, now in the Lateran, are almost the only remains by which we may form an idea of Roman portrait-painting. The three principal schools to which the productions of the Roman period may be referred, the *Ideal* of the Augustan age, the *Historical* and the *Portrait*, school have been thus briefly indicated.

But it would be impossible, without a much more elaborate classification, to do justice to the treasures of Roman art stored up in the museums of Italy.

The sarcophagi, which recur so frequently at Rome, and which are generally of a late period, form a distinct and very interesting class of monuments. The bas-reliefs with which they are decorated generally represent well-known Greek myths, such as the story of Niobe; and it is curious to trace out how, in the treatment of these subjects, the great principles of Greek art were gradually set aside and forgotten.

In these compositions, the beautiful types of the earlier Greek sculpture once more re-appear, but so strained and distorted that we can hardly recognise their original character; and the heroic myths are treated with that frigid pathos, which has its parallel in Roman literature in the tragedies of Seneca.

But these bas-reliefs, though possessing but little attraction from the beauty of the art, are yet very well worthy of attention as examples of mythography, and are our only authorities for many compositions, of which we have elsewhere only single figures or fragments.

As the great monumental art of the Romans can be best studied in the public works and remains of their metropolis, so, for all that relates to their private life and household affairs, our surest and fullest authority is the Museo Borbonico.

The various vessels and implements in bronze and pottery

found at Pompeii and Herculaneum impart to us most ample and detailed information respecting the useful arts, as well as the luxuries of the Augustan age, and it is instructive to turn from this image of a highly-wrought civilization to the rude primeval specimens of metallurgy and fictile art in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican.

The great classes of Roman art thus slightly alluded to are to be recognised in the British Museum only partially, and by a few isolated specimens. Yet these specimens are well chosen, and must not be hastily passed by. In the museums of Italy there are few finer examples of ideal art than the Towneley Venus, no Roman portrait grander in conception than the head of Nero,* none perhaps so masterly in execution as the bust called Clytie;† the abundant discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum have produced no bronze more delicately finished than the Payne Knight Mercury,‡ no work in glass which can be compared, either for the interest of the subject or the beauty of the composition, with that almost unique specimen, the Portland Vase.

Thus, each museum contributes its share to the general history of ancient art. If we could embrace in one synoptical and simultaneous view all that they contain, this general history would reveal itself with far more distinctness of outline and fulness of detail than as we see it at present.

The great task of Archæology—comparison—though much promoted by the facilities of modern travelling, is still greatly hindered by the inability of the memory to transport from place to place, and to recall at intervals of time, those finer distinctions and resemblances on which classification mainly depends, and which no drawing or engraving of the copyist can adequately convey.

* *Mus. Marbles*, x. pl. 6.

† In classing this bust among Roman portraits, I must, at the same time, observe that it most probably represents some Imperial personage in the character of Isis.

‡ *Publications of Dilett. Soc.* i. pl. 33, 34.

Nothing would so much supply this deficiency in the natural powers of the mind as a well-selected *Museum of casts of sculpture, not disposed, as is too often the case, merely to please the eye, but so as to develop, by a series of transition specimens, the chief features of successive styles.*

A museum of this kind is the more needed because so little has as yet been done to carry out in collections of sculpture the great principle of chronological arrangement.

In the museums of Italy there is hardly any attempt at classification beyond the separation of Roman and other portraits from the general mass, or an occasional selection made on some partial unessential principle, such as that of *Coloured marbles* in the Museo Borbonico, or *Animals* in the Vatican.

And even where the true method of arrangement—that according to periods of art—is employed with the utmost judgment, as in the Glyptothek at Munich, a compromise is found necessary in the case of those numerous works which, being evidently Roman copies of great Greek originals, cannot be assigned with certainty to any particular date or school, but must be grouped round some one central object of kindred subject and of more decided style. This kind of compromise of the general principle of arrangement is very judiciously and happily introduced in the four rooms which intervene between the Æginetan and Roman sculptures of the Glyptothek.

CHARLES T. NEWTON.

XX.

ON THE STUDY OF POLYCHROMY, AND ITS
REVIVAL.*

SINCE the publication of the celebrated work by Quatremère de Quincy—*Le Jupiter Olympien*—that is to say, scarce forty years ago, the question of the polychromy of ancient monuments has not ceased to occupy the antiquarian and artistic world, without having, as yet, been determined in a satisfactory manner.

That celebrated *savant* gave us, so to say, the abstract theory of polychromy, in founding his argument on the genius and general character of ancient art. For in his time scarcely anything was known or discovered of the existence of those traces of colour in the architecture and sculpture of antiquity with which we are now acquainted. This circumstance, while

* Dr. Kugler, in his work, *Ueber die Polychromie der Griechischen Architektur und Sculptur, und ihre Grenzen*, 4to. Berlin 1835, translated by W. R. Hamilton, Esq., and published in the *Trans. Inst. B. Archts.* vol. i. part 1, 1835—6, is of opinion that the general flat surfaces of Grecian monuments retained the natural colour of the marble, and that the ornaments and details were the only portions decorated with colour.

M. Hittorff, in the paper which we published in the first number of this periodical, considers that the whole surface of these buildings was painted, and believes the more prominent flat surfaces to have been of a bright cream colour.

In the present essay, M. Semper endeavours to show that this tint was of a darker colour, more approaching to red; that, in fact, it exactly resembled the rosy hue of the glowing sunset of an eastern sky. This opinion he supports by an ingenious reasoning, but the reader must judge for himself as to the probability of such a system.

Independent of this assumption, M. Semper maintains that the whole surface was covered over with a transparent varnish, a circumstance which, if established, would in some measure tend to reconcile these several theories, in so far as the general effect of polychromized structures is concerned.—ED.

it redounds to the greater merit of the artist, detracts greatly from the value of his work, which contains but mere general ideas upon the subject in question.

The effect produced by this work was, therefore, unconvincing; for, independent of the author's having no certain points whereon to ground his theory, the influence of long-continued custom, and of modern masterpieces of art executed in conformity to it, were too deeply enrooted in the public mind to permit ideas to be received which were at once so novel, and so contrary to the tastes of the times. They were disposed to concede but very little, and that under great restrictions. It was therefore only among the younger students of art and antiquity that the revelations which it contained—opening as they did such a wide field for imagination and discovery—found some enthusiastic followers. This controversy commenced at the period of the breaking out of the Greek insurrection from the Turkish yoke—an event which excited such temporary fanaticism in favour of the descendants of ancient Greece. This feeling developed itself in an especial manner in Germany, and particularly among such persons of distinction as patronized the arts; and it was also very generally felt in France and England.

It was under the influence of these impressions that many young artists proceeded to Sicily and Greece, in order to study those celebrated monuments which had been neglected for so long a period. They published the result of their researches in works which have since been duly appreciated; and the excavations which they effected have furnished the principal museums of Europe with masterpieces of Greek sculpture. They were subsequently enabled to put in practice the result of their studies in many important edifices, executed in the Hellenic style.

Among these travellers, there were several who devoted a particular attention to the subject under consideration. A splendid work appeared by Baron Stackelberg, containing

much important material. M. Bröndsted, in his *Voyages et Recherches en Grèce*, unfolded a complete system of polychromy, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Le Duc de Luynes published his discoveries at Metapontum, and Il Duca di Serradifalco his researches in Sicily. But it was the restoration of a small temple at Selinuntum, published by M. Hittorff, which set in dispute the whole archæological world; and a controversy ensued upon all points of the question—without result, it is true, but which served to render us acquainted with all the passages from ancient authors which in any way bear upon the subject, and which interpreted them in all the various manners in which they were capable of being explained.*

This controversy was at its height when I returned from my travels in Italy, Sicily, and Greece. I had brought with me a portfolio of coloured drawings and restorations of Greek and Etruscan polychromy.† Encouraged by the reception which these experienced, and by the interest which the question

* Most of the passages in ancient authors which refer to works of art are so indeterminate and equivocal, that it would sometimes be impossible even for the learning of a Herman to ascertain whether they referred to works of painting, of sculpture, or even of embroidery, or works in which all the arts were equally employed. Such passages were placed in the index as of equivocal or doubtful interpretation, but the precision and clearness of the Greek idiom would not have failed to give a distinct meaning to the different varieties of expression, had they not been considered collectively by the Greeks. It is by the assistance of these passages that we are enabled to form an idea of the general effect of a Greek monument, in which all the branches of art are collectively employed.

† These drawings were in part the result of researches made in company with the late Jules Goury, a young French architect of great distinction, whose premature death will ever be lamented by the friends of art. After investigating the monuments of Athens, he passed into Egypt, his studies in which country were esteemed by the Egyptian savant, M. Prisse, to be superior to any hitherto executed. From Egypt he repaired to Spain, and had just completed the drawings of his magnificent work on the Alhambra,—since published by his coadjutor, Mr. Owen Jones,—when he was carried off by cholera. His portfolio of Grecian drawings contained a most complete collection of the evidences of polychromy in Attica. What has become of this collection?

excited, I published a short pamphlet,* which was intended to serve as introduction to a larger work, on Greek Polychromy, divided into three parts, treating separately of Greek, Etruscan and Roman, and Mediæval.

The first essays on this subject in Germany were not very promising. The different opinions of antiquaries and artists found their zealous followers among the public. Here, one saw a pale and timid style, with *seladon* (Chinese green) and rose-colour, assuming to be the true Greek style; there, appeared a blood-red building, equally arrogating to itself to be *the* style.

As the Philhellenic enthusiasm changed to Mediæval, Greek polychromy gave way to the coloured decoration of the Byzantine and the Gothic styles. This new direction was, I believe, first produced in Germany by the restoration of the Cathedral of Bamberg by Gärtner. On the occasion of the repairs, ancient mural paintings were discovered, which due care was taken to repair and to restore. Examples and models for imitation in mediæval polychromy were not wanting, especially in Italy; and the attempts to restore this style of decoration were therefore more successful than those in Greek architecture, although they rather sought to imitate the peculiarities and barbarism of the style, than to determine and follow out the great principles which they contained. The study of Greek polychromy was therefore set aside for the introduction of Gothic, which now began to be the mode. The Gothic system of colouring made especial progress in France, owing to the exertions which had been made in that country, for some ten years previously, to re-establish the architecture of the middle ages.

Several Romanesque and Gothic churches have been restored with the care and research which distinguish French artists; among others, the *Sainte Chapelle*, by M. Duban,

* *Bemerkungen über die vielfärbige Architectur und Sculptur bei den Alten.*
Altona 1834.

deserves especial notice, as the most finished and perfect example of the polychromatic architecture of the early ogieval style of France. All these restorations are much more satisfactory than the attempts at Greek polychromy which had been made at various places on the Continent, the inferiority of which is to be attributed partly to the inexperience of the artists, and partly to the circumstance that, in barbaric monuments—and the works of the middle ages are so to a certain extent—we observe a grandeur of effect, and a collective harmony, obtained by a sacrifice of parts to the greater importance of the whole. But this grandeur and harmony could only be obtained, among the Greeks, by a free admixture of the elements of which the aggregate was composed, which allowed them a perfect and independent development, within such limits as they could not pass without disturbing the mutual correspondence of the whole. If we could form to ourselves an exact idea of this union of the free and circumscribed relation of the arts which co-operate together to the formation of a Greek monument, we should be better able to distinguish ancient art, which we are now too often in the habit of qualifying as being purely *plastic*.

It is plain that the restoration of edifices of a barbarous style is easy and satisfactory, while Greek art can only be understood in an age and nation, the character of which is distinguished by equally artistic, harmonious, and free perceptions. While on the Continent this question was discussed and agitated in the literary world, and put in practice with more or less success in various buildings, it scarcely excited attention or remark in this country—a circumstance which is the more inexplicable, that the first discoveries relative to the existence of traces of painting were made by Englishmen.* Among the

* Among the earliest discoverers was Professor Donaldson; who, in the year 1830, fully proved that the whole surface of the marble temples of Athens was originally coloured.—*Trans. R. Inst. B. Archts.* i. 85, 86.

causes which checked the development of Gothic polychromy in England, was the unsuitableness of the usual subjects of church paintings to Protestant places of worship. It was not till after the publication of Gowry and Jones's work on the Alhambra that the people of this country began to direct their attention to the subject, which has excited more and more interest to the present time; and it is now probable that the nation may, with its usual enterprise and determination, pursue the system to its greatest extension, and apply the principle to every new and important edifice.

Much light may doubtless be thrown upon the subject of Greek polychromy by the investigations of the monuments, the paintings, and the miniatures of the first ages of the Christian era, especially in those countries which were at one time the seats of ancient civilization; and it is with great interest that we look forward to the publication of the Mosque of Santa Sophia, and other edifices of like antiquity, which have been promised to us. But what have most assisted in the investigation of ancient polychromy are the discoveries in Assyria, and the better acquaintance with the monuments of Persepolis and of Egypt; which latter now appear more closely connected with the works of other nations, instead of seeming, as formerly, to be but isolated phenomena. The monuments of Athens have also been the object of new and scrupulous research, which has led to the discovery of important principles both in form and colour, the result of which will form another valuable addition to the works of the Dilettanti Society. But the most important publication in reference to this subject will be the work by M. Hittorff, the plates of which were obligingly shown to me by that author.

Monumental polychromy must now, therefore, be considered in a new light. It is no longer the enthusiastic speculation of a few artists or antiquaries, but the historian, the scholar, the antiquary, and the artist, all unite to support its evidence with their authority; and at length it commences to be appreciated

by the public, who are becoming weary of the monotony of naked architecture.

The different opinions upon the spirit and extent of Greek polychromy may be comprehended in two general divisions, which may be subdivided in various others. In the first class may be comprehended those who regard polychromy as a means of art whereby to assist and increase the effect of sculpture and architecture, and to conceal the inferiority of materials, otherwise unsuitable to the character and dignity of the work to which they are applied. Those of the second class acknowledge no priority of importance in sculpture or architecture over painting; they deny the existence of limits between the different manifestations of Greek art, which, in their collectiveness, form but one indissoluble whole. They believe that sculpture was as much employed to increase the effect of painting, as painting was made use of to heighten the effect of sculpture or architecture; and, finally, they show that Greek polychromy is based upon ancient traditions, or rather upon the first elements of architecture, and that it was diligently cultivated by the Greeks, as favourable to the harmonious and free development of Hellenic art.

The first class may be divided into two distinct parties. The first is represented by the learned Dane, M. Brøndsted, who applies polychromy to three different purposes—the concealing or preserving the original material; the heightening the architectural and sculptural effect; and the substitution for sculpture of a cheaper process. The following is the result of his deductions, as published in his *Voyages et Recherches en Grèce*:—

“ L’application des couleurs était de trois espèces—

“ 1. La couleur y était comme couche, et sans aucun effet d’illusion pour soutenir l’architecture proprement dite, c’est-à-dire, pour relever la teinte insignifiante et monotone de la pierre, pour réunir et rapprocher de l’œil ce qui dans l’idée de l’artiste devait se présenter ensemble, mais ce que dans l’exé-

cution la distance séparait; pour faire ressortir toutes les parties correspondantes, et les mettre plus à la portée de l'œil et de l'esprit de l'observateur; en général, pour ajouter à l'effet de l'ensemble par l'aspect clair et agréable de ses parties: il ne faut pas oublier non plus l'avantage matériel que l'enduit procurait pour préserver de la décomposition des matériaux souvent poreux et veineux.

" 2. La couleur servait pour produire de l'illusion dans certaines parties de la construction, c'est-à-dire pour l'effet des ombres et des jours, du relief et des enfoncements sur un plan uni; en un mot, pour faire des véritables tableaux, et par conséquent pour *remplacer la sculpture* dans les ouvrages architectoniques.

" 3. L'application s'annonce comme *achèvement des parties proprement plastiques*,"* &c.

He afterwards adds, "Toutefois ce même ornement en couleur, pratiqué dans l'intention de faire illusion, n'était jamais qu'une *substitution*."†

The second division of the first class is composed of learned professors, and of the directors of the various museums of antiquity in Germany; and is represented by M. Kugler.

They maintain that the Greeks were induced to adopt the use of colour in their buildings solely from æsthetic principles; and they believe that the application of polychromy to sculpture consisted in little more than the occasional coloured border given to the Grecian tunic.

M. Kugler, in his work on the polychromy of Greek architecture, already cited, concludes that—"if no others, yet certainly the white marble buildings erected in the flourishing time of Greece,—that is, the greater proportion of those of Attica,—exhibited in their principal parts the material of which they were built, in its own proper colour; that painting,

* BRÖNDSTED, P. O. *Voyages dans la Grèce*, fol. Paris 1830. ii. 146.

† *Id.* ii. 153.

therefore, is only to be referred to the subordinate details.”* And again: “If we wish to present to ourselves the impression of the most remarkable buildings in the flourishing period of Greece Proper, we must conceive their effect to have been produced by a rich white marble in its own natural brilliancy; and, when the materials employed were of a baser description, by a coating of stucco, which in its outward appearance did not much differ from that of marble; these were then combined with appropriate ornaments, and made resplendent with gold.”†

This opinion M. Kugler grounds chiefly upon a passage of Herodotus:—

When the Prytaneia in Siphnos shall be white,
When the Agora shall be white, &c.

“But the Agora and the Prytaneion of the Siphnians (Herodotus continues) were at this time (that is, at the fulfilment of the oracle) built (or cased) with *Parian stone*.”‡ Dr. Kugler then goes on to state: “What makes this passage so important for our purpose, is not the insulated information we get from it respecting the white edifices of the Siphnians, but the reason for which they were white.”§

It is surprising, however, that M. Kugler, who appreciates justly the importance of the passage in Herodotus, and who is jealous that its authenticity be not questioned, has cited only a portion of the passage, in lieu of giving it in all its integrity, by which alone we shall be enabled to judge of its real meaning. Herodotus tells us:—“Those of the Samians who had fomented the war against Polycrates, when the Lacedæmonians were about to abandon them, set sail for Siphnus, for they were in want of money. The affairs of the Siphnians were at that time in a flourishing condition, and they were the richest of all the islanders, having in the island gold and silver mines, so that

* HAMILTON'S *Kugler*, p. 93.

‡ HEROD. iii. 57.

† *Id.* p. 84.

§ HAMILTON'S *Kugler*, p. 82.

from the tenth of the money accruing from thence, a treasure is laid up at Delphi equal to the richest; and they used every year to divide the riches that accrued (from the mines). When, therefore, they established this treasure, they consulted the Oracle whether their present prosperity should continue with them for a long time, but the Pythian answered as follows:—

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήϊα λευκὰ γένηται
 λεύκοφρύς τ' ἀγορῇ, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρὸς
 φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ' ἐρυσρόν.

“ When the Prytaneia in Siphnos shall be white,
 And the Agora white-fronted, then there is need of a prudent man
 To guard against a *wooden troop* and a *crimson herald*.”

The Agora and Prytaneum of the Siphnians were then adorned (ἡσκημένα) with Parian marble. This response they were unable to comprehend, either then at the moment, or when the Samians arrived. For as soon as the Samians reached Siphnus, they sent one of their ships conveying ambassadors to the city. Formerly all ships were painted red. And this it was of which the Pythian forewarned the Siphnians, bidding them beware of a wooden *troop** and a crimson herald. These ambassadors, then, having arrived, requested the Siphnians to lend them ten talents; but when the Siphnians refused the loan, the Samians ravaged their territory. But the Siphnians having heard of it, came out to protect their property, and, having engaged, were beaten, and many of them were cut off from the city by the Samians, and they afterwards exacted from them a hundred talents.”—CARY'S *Herod.* iii. 57.

Here we have reference to an oracle, the consequences of which might entail disaster, and which it was therefore their interest to provide against as much as possible.

The oracle, as usual, is involved in obscure antithesis, the coincidence of which appeared impossible. A red herald was

* The word is translated *ambush*: but the original seems to compare the oars of a galley to the naked feet of a compact body of infantry.

a thing unknown among the Greeks, for white, from its purity, was always selected as the official colour for heralds. A red herald was therefore as absurd a thing as a troop of wooden soldiers. The poetical equilibrium of ancient verse requires that the antithesis of the red herald,—namely, the Agora and the Prytaneum, of a white colour, should be equally absurd in the opinion of the Greeks.

Could the oracle attach the accomplishment of its prediction to circumstances which were common and ordinary? Impossible! No doubt, therefore, that a white Agora or a white Prytaneum was in opposition to the customs of the people at the time of the utterance of the oracle. But the symmetry of oracular verse permits a yet bolder construction:—

Since red is applied to the herald, who, according to custom, should be clothed in white, is it not probable that the white colour, here so mysteriously applied to the Agora and Prytaneum, was opposed to the general custom of painting them red?

Are we to believe that, with the introduction of white marble for the construction of their buildings, such a revolution took place in the feelings of the people that they ceased altogether to paint their edifices in their former colours? or shall we not rather suppose that it was by accident that the Agora and Prytaneum of the Siphnians were of a white colour when the Samian vessels arrived off their coasts? Could the Siphnians have altogether forgotten the ancient oracle, and become perfectly indifferent and incredulous as to what they foretold, when they deliberately resolved to adorn their edifices with Parian marble? This must have been the case, if they really had the intention to let them remain of the natural colour of the stone. But this want of reverence towards ancient traditions is incompatible with the character of the Greeks; and it is probable that the two facts recorded of the history of the Siphnians were not very far apart.

It will be observed that the historian is speaking of a past time. He relates that the Agora was *then* adorned with white

marble (τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοσι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήϊον Παρίῳ λίθῳ ἡσκημένα). Now Herodotus lived two generations after the event recorded in this history; and as the city of the Siphnians was not destroyed, but simply placed under a forced contribution, it is probable that the edifices were still standing when Herodotus read his history at Olympia; but that they were no longer in the same state, as regards colour, as when the Samians landed.

Moreover, if so radical a change had taken place in the manner of decorating buildings and in the habits of the people, is it not wonderful that no record should appear of it in history?

We are, therefore, obliged to confess that the Siphnians were surprised by fate when they had just completed their edifices in Parian marble, but before they had had time to colour them; and that in this interim, when the buildings were purely white, the oracle was fulfilled.

This explanation of the legend appears founded on a certain dramatic consequence, other than which is unworthy of the Greek historian. M. Kugler, like the Siphnians, has been deceived by the Pythia, for, not having comprehended her, he deduces a wrong conclusion: "we may thence," says he, "draw a positive inference—that what was constructed in the brilliant period of Greek art, of Parian marble, and, as a necessary consequence also, of any and every white marble, particularly, as at Athens, of Pentelic marble, was allowed to preserve essentially its external white appearance."*

* KUGLER, p. 82. In Professor Faraday's *Report on the Analysis of the Colours found on the Monuments of Athens*, he states: "'Portion of coating taken from the columns of the Theseum'—I am doubtful about this surface. I do not find wax or a mineral colour, unless it be one due to a small portion of iron. *A fragrant gum appears to be present in some pieces, and a combustible substance in all.* Perhaps some vegetable substance has been used." And in answer to the question, whether the ochreous tint and glossy surface visible on the statues of the Fates in the eastern pediment were due to some foreign matter artificially applied to the surface,

The second class of writers and controversialists may be styled the historical party, because they refuse to consider Greek polychromy in Attica as an insulated phenomenon, and explicable by the simple laws of utility and taste. They endeavour to discover the origin of the custom in its various ramifications, not only investigating what the Greeks practised and invented, but endeavouring to ascertain what the Greeks borrowed from Barbarians, receiving their customs in a more elevated sense, and refining and spiritualizing their ideas.

he replies :—"The particles you sent me seem to come from a prepared surface. Being put into a dilute acid, a portion of adhering matter is dissolved, and the principal portion is left in an untouched and cleaner state. Being then washed and dried, it is found that this consists of carbonate of lime, and a combustible substance which protects the carbonate from the acid."—*Trans. R. Inst. B. Archts.* vol. i. part 2.

Dr. Kugler maintains also that temples and other edifices represented on Greek vases of the best period are always of a white ground, and that the only ornaments introduced are capitals of a yellow colour; but on examining the vases of the British Museum, it will be found that such only of the Basilicata, and those even of a less ancient date, are so painted; and it is questionable whether the white ground was not once covered with a coloured varnish. But in all the more ancient Attic and Etruscan vases the edifices are not white, but either coloured or black, like the figures. In case xxxv. of the "Bronze Room" of the British Museum are several Attic *Lekythi* of the best period, which have the neck and base black, and the body of the vase white, with red outlines very delicately drawn. Among these there is one which shows the remains of a thick coat of enamel; but in those parts where the colour has fallen off, we perceive the original white ground, with the same delicate outlines. It is evident, therefore, that under those parts where the enamel is still perfect there exist the original lines of the drawing, which served to guide the artist who afterwards applied the enamel. And we may consequently suppose that, in all those vases which present a rude white ground, the lines of the drawing and the subsequent enamel have fallen off.

On the coloured *Lekythos* referred to, the tomb of Agamemnon is represented, ornamented with white eggs, and with green leaves above the cornice. The yellow ground is destroyed, but we can perceive traces of its having once existed. It is very remarkable that the use of white grounds in Attic vases coincides with that of the white marble of the same country, and that traces of colour different in its material character from what one observes elsewhere, but greatly resembling each other, are found on each. I believe that encaustic painting required a white chalk ground, as a representation of the marble or ivory for which this species of painting was invented. In the "Etruscan Room" there are two remarkable vases, No. 280 of case xii. and an adjoining one. They represent porticoes of fountains, composed of black Doric columns; the metopes and the tympana alone are white.

M. Hittorff may be considered as the exponent of this party, and by his restoration of the Temple of Empedocles, and by the works which he has executed at Paris, he has contributed more than any other to render the science of polychromy more generally understood. His system is based principally upon a small temple in Sicily, constructed of ordinary stone, and covered with stucco; but he also refers to the white marble temples of Greece itself. His work, which we are now led to expect, will doubtless contain important documents for the history and theory of polychromy, and will furnish convincing proofs of the truthfulness of his theory.

M. Hittorff admits the greatest extension to polychromy, but he gives to the constructive portions of his buildings, as the columns, architrave, and cornices, a light cream tint, relieved by a dark but richly-decorated ground on the wall behind. Except in this particular, his system is nearly identical with that of Kugler, who supposes that the only plain surfaces of marble temples which received a general tint of colour were the two extremities of the cella.

From a careful examination of ancient monuments, and from a diligent study of ancient authors, I am led to conclude—

1. The custom of painting edifices was general among ancient nations; and it was intimately united, and almost identical, with the use of stucco.

2. The use of stucco, decorated with painting or other ornaments, was but a substitution of a still earlier *motif*, more ancient than the wall itself—tapestry.

3. Every portion of ancient edifices, from the earliest period to the time of the Romans, was covered with stucco or some other material, decorated and coloured, with the exception of the plinth or stylobate, which in the more ancient structures displayed its natural construction.*

* The influence of these ancient motives on the external character and appearance of their structures must have continued for a long period; and this character

4. The Romans were the first to introduce a visible mural construction in their architecture, both in the exterior and interior of their buildings. This principle was confirmed at the commencement of our æra, and became constant on the substitution of the arch for the wooden ceiling.

5. The employment of marble and other hard stones is more recent than that of sun-dried or burnt bricks, or of common stone.

6. White marble was employed principally because it answered most perfectly all the requirements of a fine stucco—because it was, so to say, a natural stucco; although, without doubt, it must also have been employed from the excellence of its other qualities, as its hardness, its closeness of grain, its smoothness,—but, above all, its transparency and its whiteness, both of which latter qualities were necessary, even when it was intended to receive a complete covering of polychromy.

7. The more general employment of marble coincides with the introduction of a new application of colouring, which greatly affected the development of painting among the Greeks.* The ancient encaustic method which Pliny describes to us† was only

was that of variously-coloured tapestry, of tabulation, or lining with slabs, and of incrustation. It continued to exert its influence, even when decoration in sculpture and painting had reached their last stage of development. The sixth book of Vitruvius is very important, as demonstrating the system of ancient mural decoration as resulting from a particular process in the execution of stucco, which, in like manner, was founded on the traditional system of mural incrustation and of constructive necessity. Compare WIEGMANN, *Die Malerei der Alten*.

* “Ceris pingere, ac picturam inuere quis excogitaverit, non constat. Quidam Aristidis inventum putant, postea consummatum a Praxitele. Sed aliquanto vetustiores encausticæ picturæ exstiterē, ut Polygnōti, et Nicanoris, et Arcesilai Pariorum,” &c. —PLIN. *H. Nat.* xxxv. 39.

† “Encausto pingendi duo fuisse antiquitus genera constat, cera, et in ebore, cestro, id est, viriculo, donec classes pingi cœpere. Hoc tertium accessit, resolutis igni ceris penicillo utendi, quæ pictura in navibus nec sole, nec sale, ventisque corrumpitur.”—PLIN. *H. Nat.* xxxv. 41.

The word cestro is supposed to be the instrument, and is considered to signify an iron *stylus*. But *cestrum* is also the name of a botanical plant. The word viriculum does not occur in other Latin authors; and it is therefore uncertain

capable of being applied with wax on marble, or with a transparent gum on ivory. After this ancient method, opposed to the employment of melted wax, they applied coloured wax in the form of a paste, which they laid on in various colours, in the manner of a mosaic, or enamel work. This they melted afterwards with hot irons, covering the edges with a fillet of a different colour to the parts in contact.

The white marble never remained naked, not even in the parts intended to appear white; but the layer of colour by which they were covered was rendered more or less transparent, to enable the white colour of the marble to appear through it. In the same manner, coloured and polished marbles, granite, ivory, gold, and other metallic portions of the edifice, were all protected by a coating of transparent colour.* Further proof is afforded by Egyptian monuments in granite,† and by many passages in ancient authors referring to this practice.

8. It is difficult to advance any general system of Greek polychromy, on account of the variations being probably

whether Pliny here speaks of an iron instrument for applying the wax, or of some resinous matter therein employed. See FARADAY'S Analysis, in the *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects*.

* "Durat et Cyzici delubrum, in quo filum aureum commissuris omnibus politi lapidis subjecit artifex, eboreum Jovem dicaturus intus, coronante eum marmoreo Apolline. *Translucet* ergo pictura tenuissimis capillamentis, lenique afflatu simulacra refovente, præter ingenium artificis, *ipsa materia, quamvis occulta*, in pretio operis intelligitur."—PLIN. *II. Nat.* xxxvi. 22. The word *translucet* and the expression *ipsa materia, quamvis occulta*, prove that the gold, equally with the stone, was covered with a varnish. *Lapis politus* does not necessarily signify, as we might at first suppose, the polish given to a hard stone, but that the stone was covered with a coating, whether of stucco or colour, and then polished. Compare the following passages in Vitruvius, among many others:—"Item Halicarnassi potentissimi regis Mausoli domus, cum Procumesio marmore omnia haberet ornata, parietes habet latere structos, qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præstant firmitatem, ita tectoriis operibus *expoliti*, ut vitri perluciditatem videantur habere."—VITR. ii. 8. "In his vero supra podia abaci ex atramento sunt subigendi, et poliendi, cneis silaccis seu miniaceis interpositis. . . . Ipsi autem politionibus eorum ornatus proprias debent habere decoris rationes," &c.—*Id.* vii. 5.

† See ante, p. 99.

greater in this flexible and changing element, than in the more fixed proportions and forms of either architecture or sculpture, even in which materials we find it very difficult to determine the normal proportions, so various do they appear. This becomes apparent, by consideration of the various dispositions of colour which have been observed in different monuments of Greek civilization. But the opposing principles of Dorism and Ionism which exist in all the institutions of Greece, in its politics, in its customs, in its poetry, and in its arts, are strikingly exhibited in the forms of architecture and sculpture. This same difference is observable with respect to ancient music, which in like manner consisted of Doric and the Ionic. Now, we know that the Doric legislators sought to found their civil institutions on the Egyptian system; while those of the Ionians based theirs on the traditions of Asia. Recent researches on the monuments of Assyria and Egypt have shown that the forms of Doric architecture were derived from Egypt,* while those of Ionia came from Assyria, or at least from some Asiatic country of common origin.

It may, therefore, be presumed that the different modes of music and of Greek polychromy were derived from the same sources.

The Doric style in music and in polychromy was Egyptian, as the Ionic was Asiatic. There is more in this than the mere name, for we are fully acquainted with the Egyptian style, and we know also the harmonious music of Asiatic colouring; for Byzantine, Arab, and Gothic painting, as indeed all modern painting, are derived from it. We may observe the two different styles contrasted together on the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

It would perhaps be more easy to arrive at some definite conclusion on the different characteristics of Greek polychromy by help of this hypothesis, than by the feeble traces of colour

* See ante, p. 87.

which we observe with difficulty, and which give rise to such opposing theories. We find the same difference between the Egyptian and Hellenic polychromy,* as between hieroglyphics and illustrative ornament and sculpture.

9. Greek art did not reach the zenith of its perfection till the Doric influence was penetrated by the Ionic—the material by the spiritual. Those arts which are least dependent on the material, would be the first to emancipate themselves. The Ionic feeling might exert its influence on the Doric style of painting, even though the architectural forms preserved the stamp of their original extraction; and this change would most readily take place in Attica. It is, therefore, to be inferred that Attic polychromy was richer and more Asiatic than that of Sicily, or of those countries where pure Doric influence existed.

10. The following is the result of my researches and observations on polychromy, as applied to architecture:—

Colour of the Architectural Masses.—The prevailing colour of the temple burned with all the glowing beauty of the setting sun. The colour may be defined as of a yellow red, very vapoury, resembling that of the finest terra cottas. In fact, the general appearance of the temple would precisely resemble the appearance of a fine day in an eastern climate.

This yellow tint covered all portions of the order—the columns, the architrave, the cornices, and probably the triglyphs† and the beams. But all the flat ground members, as the walls—often decorated with paintings and ornaments—the tympana, the lacunaria, and perhaps the metopes, were of a

* “Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendium invenit.”—PETRONIUS, *Init.*

† I have not been able to determine definitely what were the colours of the triglyphs or the metopes. In my restoration of the Parthenon I have followed Vitruvius, and the Doric and Etruscan examples of Sicily and Italy, in colouring the triglyphs blue, and the metopes red; but I have reason to believe that the contrary was the fact.

blue-black.* These colours would be laid on pretty thick, so as to obtain a sufficient body: the red would be transparent, but not the blue.

Colours of the Mouldings and Ornaments.—The prevailing colours of the mouldings and ornaments were red, blue, and green; the two former colours being more perfect, more brilliant, and deeper, than in those parts which served as grounds. The green is very delicate, of a bright moss colour. The details of the ornaments alternate regularly, and are united together by very delicate and projecting fillets of white, black, or gold. In the temples of Athens, I believe them to have been of gold.† Above the tolerably thick ground tint, may be observed thinner and transparent tints, completing the forms and subdivisions. It is difficult to tell the colour of the second tints, but they were probably of the same colour as the first. The enamels of Egypt, surrounded by golden fillets, give an idea of the appearance of the Athenian ornaments when executed in ancient encaustic. The gold with which the whole was lined, as in a spider's web, is concentrated in parts with greater effect and intenseness.

Sculpture partook of the same system of polychromy: the figures of females were almost white; those of men were of a darker tint. The use of gold was also very prevalent in sculpture.

11. Painting was not the mere filling up of the mouldings, or imitation of sculpture; but more probably the sculpture was rendered accessory to the painting.

GOTTFRIED SEMPER.

* This was of a middle tint, rather lighter than the colour of the ornaments. It was composed of black, blue, white, and a slight touch of green.

† This bordering we find in Assyrian, Egyptian, and Etruscan paintings, and is either red or black.

XXI.

ON THE POLYCHROMY OF SCULPTURE:

BEING RECOLLECTIONS OF REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT, BY C. O. MÜLLER,
AT ATHENS, IN 1840.

IN a former article upon "the Polychromy of Greek Architecture," the valuable remarks of M. Hittorff extend to the painting of sculpture generally, but in his reference to authorities, no allusion appears to the name of the celebrated C. Otfried Müller.

That distinguished archæologist, by his well-exercised judgment and deep learning, merits the utmost regard from all classical students, and his untimely death is the more to be regretted, as he was on the eve of publishing the results of his inquiries prosecuted among the actual ruins of Greece, after a long course of reading and study in the principal collections of Europe. Many of the MS. notes in his journal have since been published by his companion, A. Schöll, 1843, who has incorporated them with his own observations, made during their travels together in Greece. C. O. Müller had, of late, turned his attention particularly to the subject of polychromy.

When at Athens, in June, 1840, with Mr. (now Sir Charles) Fellows, my good fortune placed me much in Professor Müller's society; and as few of his observations on colour have been made known,* it may be deemed advisable to communicate some of his opinions expressed in conversation, which tend more immediately to the present object of inquiry. The advantages I had so recently enjoyed of examining the antiquities of a large portion of Asia Minor led me to put a few

* Except those allusions scattered through the *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*.

distinct queries to him, and his replies I immediately noted upon the margin of one of my sketches nearest at hand. These I now transcribe, and a glance will soon satisfy any one of the importance of this little *code* of opinion:—

“The ancients painted their bas-reliefs.

“They only tinged their statues *on the drapery*, leaving the flesh uncoloured; the wounds and blood were stained, and the earrings and ornaments gilt.

“Their marble temples were left white; parts of the frieze and architectural ornaments were coloured, but very sparingly.

“Those of coarser material were plastered, and entirely coloured.

“The Parthenon frieze was coloured. The background of all their bas-reliefs was painted.

“The statue of Minerva on the Acropolis, lately discovered, was probably a copy of the old Minerva Polias, which was said to have fallen from heaven.”

I do not present these as entirely new to the antiquarian world; they have been printed in the *Lycia* of Sir C. Fellows, (page 199) to whom I made the communication when he was preparing his publication, but they were not printed exactly as my notes stood. In the course of our conversation, Professor Müller quoted the Ægina Marbles to illustrate the limitation named in the second clause. In those sculptures, the paint was confined to the eye-balls, lips, draperies and armour. The same appears to have been the case with the metopes, discovered at Selinus.

He did not, however, object to the idea I suggested to him, of the most finished statues having been stained by a delicate tinted varnish, which might have given the effect of very pale flesh; and being, at the same time, perfectly transparent, would clearly display every crystallized particle on the surface of the beautifully wrought marble.

The hair of the Venus de' Medici was dead gold;* her ears were bored to receive rings, and the mark of a bracelet still remains upon one of the arms.

In the eyes of their statues especially, the ancients seem to have concentrated their effects of colour. It was not unusual

* The gold on the hair of the beautiful Minerva found at Herculaneum was so thick, that it could be removed in flakes when first discovered.

with them to insert real gems or coloured glass—an application of the toreutic art that no modern attempt has succeeded in making tolerable—but what sculpture alone can express in the eye may best be seen in a mask of Venus preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich. The number of instances remaining to us in antiquity prove the application of various materials to have been very prevalent, if not without exception, in the richest works of art. Indeed, without this aid, many expressions that we read of could not have been produced.*

These opinions must be understood as referring to the richest and most luxurious period of art—a range including the works of Praxiteles and Scopas.

Since my conversation with Professor Müller, it has often occurred to me that we are neglecting to enlist a very powerful agent in DECORATIVE sculpture. I use the term decorative here, because sculpture with full colour must refer to place. The moment the coloured surface of a figure is deprived of some points in common with the objects surrounding it—(and this feeling constitutes a part of the principle of *tone* in a picture)—the work becomes crude and vulgar. Little moveable statues do not admit of full colour. Monumental draped figures in large buildings might with advantage receive a variety of hue, without at all reminding us unpleasantly of a too direct imitation of nature, any more than the degree in which form in sculpture approaches reality.

A great artist, a few years ago, attempted colour on a magnificent statue that was publicly exhibited. It failed,—and why? Because, when he employed it, he confined it to the border of a robe—a mere pattern, and neglected to apply it to the *most important* parts, namely, the eyes, hair, cheeks, and lips, which should have been decorated in preference to any other part.

* Lucian, in his *Dialogues*, alludes to the eyes of the Venus by Praxiteles; they are described as swimming, bright, and delightful.

Και των οφθαλμων δε το υγρον αμα τω παιδρι.

Και κεχαρισμενη.

LUCIAN: *Imagines*.

The same neglect would be instantly objected to in colouring a highly-finished pencil-drawing upon white paper. A great artist who knows his material can do wonders; and fine examples of the application of red, blue, and brown colour upon a pure white surface are to be seen in the beautiful sketches of heads by Lawrence, and yet the same attempt in the hands of his imitators becomes artificial and displeasing. At the bare mention of colour applied to statuary our thoughts rush to the figure-head of a ship, or, in a milder form, to Gog and Magog of Guildhall; but Madame Tussaud is superior to these, and, as a comparison can be instituted so far, we may be assured a more favourable one in a better direction remains to be established.

Hitherto no distinction has been drawn between the *real* and *ideal* in this branch: a shiny painted figure, and a great wax doll with real silk or velvet, real lace, and real glittering trinkets, are equally objectionable; but a sober, harmonious, well-balanced application of colour and metal to sculpture is likely to meet with a very different result.

The colossal enshrined figure of Athene in the Parthenon, whose eyes were inlaid gems,* must have possessed additional grandeur in its sober variegation, and the Zeus at Elis, and the Hera wrought by Polycleitos, were doubtlessly indebted both to the brush and gilder, as well as to the chisel.

Strength of colour would be mainly regulated by the amount of light upon it; where the forms are sharply defined, and the shadows are strong, a greater force of colour becomes admissible, but nowhere so as actually to deceive; and the fact of a dull gold surface representing hair, appears a very good example of the extent to which the ancients employed that kind of variety.

Sir Charles Eastlake, in his *Essay on Sculpture*,† has published

* See the fragment of the face of the external figure, with the hollowed sockets, in the British Museum.

† *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*, p. 61.

some excellent views respecting the treatment of statuary by the ancients; and one sentence is of such importance and extensive application, that I at once transcribe it:

“The perfection of style requires that the imitation, however really imperfect with reference to nature, or even with reference to other modes of representation, should suggest no want.”

He calls attention to the curious fact, that three classes of decorators finished the statue—the varnisher, the gilder, and the tinter.*

Many instances of various colours and materials are to be found in the descriptions of Pausanias, and the *Dialogues* of Lucian.

Praxiteles was assisted in perfecting his statues by the painter Nicias; he is said to have been best pleased with those of his productions in which Nicias had a hand. (PLINY, *H. N.* xxxv. 11, 133): Hic est Nicias, de quo dicebat Praxiteles interrogatus, quæ maximè opera sua probaret in marmoribus; quibus Nicias manum admovisset: tantum circumlitioni ejus tribuebat. p. 633.

Sir Charles Eastlake (p. 63) refers to an epigram of Virgil, which alludes to a statue of Amor with parti-coloured wings and painted quiver; and a very complete example of the application of parti-colour to a flat surface is to be seen on the wing of a sphinx brought from Xanthus in Lycia, and now in the British Museum. In the same collection, a cast from the rock-



* Αγαλμάτων, ἐγκαυσταὶ, χρυσωταὶ καὶ βαφεῖς.—PLUTARCH, *de Glor. Athen.*

sculpture at Tlos, representing Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, shows how colour was employed to *complete* the work of the sculptor. The body of the horse is quite smooth to the touch, but a bright red saddle-cloth, with strong black outline, is clearly visible, and has been accurately copied on the cast in the Museum.



The couch draperies of the sculptures from a rock-tomb at Myra display patterns and figures of animals in colour only, without the slightest indication on the part of the sculptor: copies of these are also to be seen in the Lycian room of the British Museum.

Professor Müller expressed the greatest interest in the discoveries then recently made by Mr. Fellows in Lycia, and more particularly upon seeing the copies of the painted sculptures at Myra. Very curious observations have since been elicited regarding other sculptures from Lycia; such as traces of bordering upon the garments of some of the most ancient statues; the remains of a bright blue background to the reliefs on the Harpy Tomb—traces of red in the hollow of the shields and



ARCHAIC BAS RELIEF FOUND NEAR MARATHON, AND NOW PRESERVED IN THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS.

upon sandals, and patterns upon the chair of a sitting female. These latter are clearly visible from the non-corrosion of surface wherever they extended, although all appearance of actual



colour or gilding has vanished. The Lycian fondness for colour was evident also in their inscriptions, where the engraved letters were sometimes painted red and blue alternately (see FELLOWS' *Lycia*, p. 146.) Two miles from Limyra I copied a curious bilingual inscription, Greek and Phœnician—the Greek letters were painted red, and the others blue.*

Handwritten text: $821744 * 410274 * 5421 * 1 * 743744773$

ΑΤΕΣ ΨΥΤΑΣ Α·ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΝΙΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΗΡΟΙΟΙΣ

Within one of the galleries attached to the ancient theatre at Myra I found two Greek inscriptions, the letters of which had been filled in with red.

ΓΕΛΑΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΛΑΘ Ο ΤΟ

TOIEN 911 Δ P Q
B 9 TOI E

* Published in the *Lycia*, plate xxxvi. No. 1.

In 1844, during the government expedition to Lycia, I copied some rock sculptures at Antiphellus, on which the blue, vermillion-red, and bright crimson colours were visible.*

The accompanying Plate represents a stele monument at Athens, found in a tumulus at Velanidisa, near Marathon. It has been published by M. Le Bas, in an article of the *Revue Archéologique*, and also by Schöll in the *Hinterlassenen Papieren von C. O. Müller*; but the drawing of the latter wants accuracy in the muscular markings, and in the character of the features. The upper part, however, has been very carefully and most successfully given by M. le Comte Léon de Laborde, in his splendid work upon the Parthenon.

It represents a tall figure, life size, in low relief, and of a very early period; but the chief interest lies in the excellence of its preservation, and the vividness of the colours still remaining on the surface. The upper inscription, ΕΡΤΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ, signifying "The work of Aristokles," is engraved in the peculiar letters of an early time, and inlaid with red. The lower gives the name of the person represented—"Aristion." The style of art approaches that of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus Panhellenius at Ægina. The shoulder-strap and corslet are quite smooth in surface, but enriched by the decorator with a star and various patterns. The drapery of the under garment is in very low relief, and plaited into numerous small folds, in the archaic manner. There appears no indication of colour upon the flesh, but a very faint trace may be perceived of the painted eyeball. The eye is round and very peculiar in form; there is no attempt at foreshortening—a peculiarity observable in all early bas-reliefs. The mouth

* A good example of the application of various colours to architectural ornament will be found in pl. 6 of STACKELBERG'S *Gräber der Hellenen*. It represents a stele found at Athens; the fleuron at the top is painted blue and pale red, and is evidently of a very early style, for the name ΘΕΡΟΝΟΣ is written from right to left. In plates 44 and 46 of the same work are other illustrations of the manner in which the ancient Athenians painted their funereal monuments.

has a smiling expression, and the beard and hair are most elaborately worked. On the whole, there is a remarkable care in the modelling of the forms; and, where the proportions fail, we cannot help observing the accurate markings of the bones and careful detail of the extremities. This precious relic is now preserved in the Temple of Theseus, the present depository to which all newly-discovered monuments of the ancient city are removed. A valuable collection has been already formed; and it is to be hoped that, at no distant period, they may be so accurately drawn and published, as to afford better transcripts than the sketches of casual visitors or hurried travellers.

GEORGE SCHARF, Jun.

March 22nd, 1851.

[In the *Kunstblatt* for 1837, No. 15, is an account of an immense number of sepulchral stelæ found between the Piræus and the Gulf of Salamis, several of which, and some from Delos and Rheneia, evince traces of coloured decoration in lieu of the ordinary sculpture. Professor Ross, to whom we are indebted for this discovery, brings forward the inscription of a monumental stela found in Acarnania, referring to the image or likeness of the deceased person, Proclidas, to whom it was erected, and another to the memory of Lycca; and as the marbles have no indication of any sculptured effigy, he supposes, with reason, that the portraits must have been painted, and that many stelæ which now exhibit an inscription only, were once decorated with colour. See also *Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* ix. 45, xii. 29.—ED.]

XXII.

ON THE IONIC HEROUM AT XANTHUS:

NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

“On attache volontiers quelque prix à ce genre de travail, précisément parcequ’il y entre un peu de divination ; et on peut s’y plaire, en raison même de ce qu’il offre de conjectural. Mais une condition de ce plaisir, quelque’il soit, est la perte du monument, ou de l’ensemble qu’on fait revivre.”—QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY.

THIS interesting monument, for the possession of which we are indebted to the enterprising exertions of a single individual, has been described by its discoverer in a pamphlet, bearing the title of *An account of the Ionic Trophy Monument excavated at Xanthus*, 8vo. London, 1848: and it is still better known to the public by the model in the British Museum, executed under his directions and superintendence. The first discovery of this monument was made in 1838. The lower part of the basement, constructed of the natural stone of the country, remained entire, but not a portion of the superstructure of white marble was to be seen. On groping among the underwood, Sir Charles Fellows perceived a fragment of a sculptured frieze, which immediately raised doubts in his mind whether others might not be buried beneath the soil. Having obtained the assistance of government, he returned to Xanthus in 1842-43, and among other works in which he was engaged, he prosecuted researches around the pedestal of this monument. His labours were crowned with unlooked-for success; upwards of forty blocks of sculptured frieze, and several finely executed statues, repaid his exertions. So numerous were they, and of such different dimensions, that he, in common with others, considered that they might have formed portions of two or more distinct structures. His first impression was, that the monument was pseudo-peripteral; but this idea he abandoned



Engr. George Lathrop. 54 Hutton Co. N.Y.

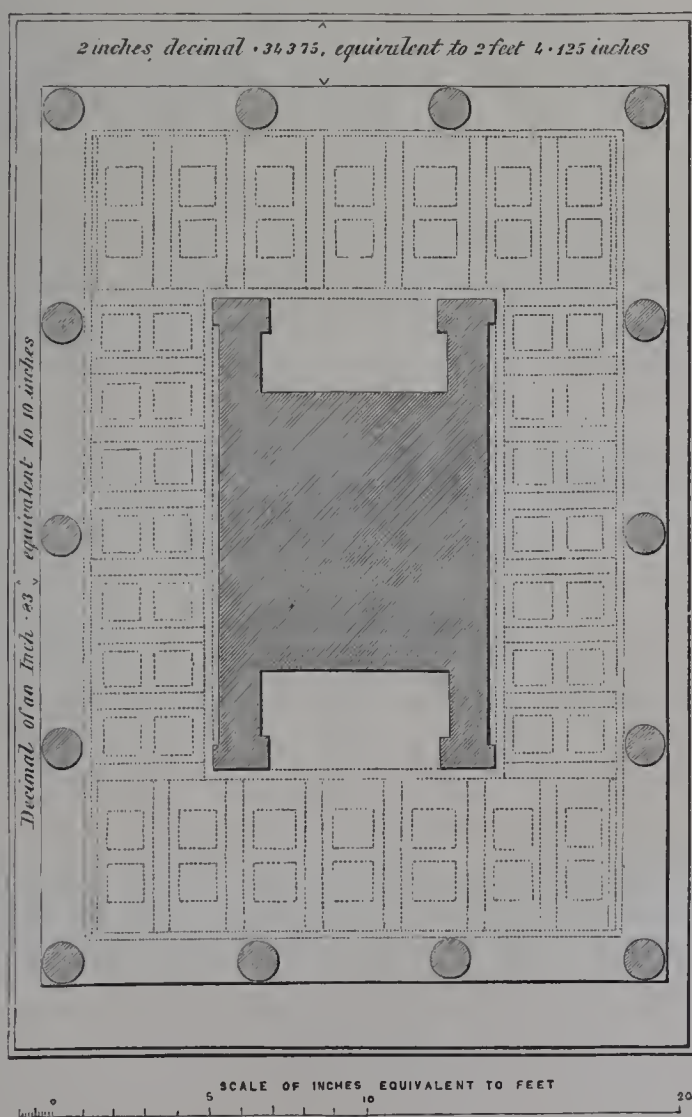
THE IONIC PERSEUM AT XANTHOS

AS RESTORED BY E. FALKNER

on finding a fragment of the angular volute of an Ionic capital.

On his return to England, he occupied himself with the restoration of the monument, as did, simultaneously with him, Mr. Rohde Hawkins, who had accompanied the expedition as architect. After several projects, Sir Charles Fellows, having had the advice and assistance of several professional friends, published his restoration, as exhibited in the model in the British Museum, consisting of a lofty stylobate ornamented

PLAN OF MODEL IN BRITISH MUSEUM



with two rows of bas-relief, and crowned with a peripteral monument of four by five columns. Between the columns are floating or flying figures, occupying the three intercolumniations of each end, and the three central intercolumniations of each side. In the extreme intercolumniations of each side he placed the four lions, of which he found fragments in the course of excavation. Independent of these female figures, which stand on emblems, he discovered four other smaller figures, but without emblems, which he assigned as angle acroteria of the pediments. A group of two male figures and one female, of still smaller size, form the central acroterium of the north-west pediment. While Sir Charles Fellows was at work on this design, Mr. Hawkins prepared another, which was published in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, April 1845, after having been exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects. This plan, like the accompanying, consisted of four by six columns. Sir Charles Fellows subsequently published his pamphlet, reverting again to his original idea, and since that period no further objections have been made to his theory.

Several circumstances induced me to take up the investigation of this monument; among which were the beauty and singularity of the structure, my having visited the country in which it was erected, its analogy with the mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the unsatisfactory manner in which certain of its parts were represented in the model prepared by Sir Charles Fellows. I now propose to myself to detail* the various

* The author of a paper like the following labours under great disadvantages. The theory which he proposes may be as good as any other, but the ground is already occupied. However excellent his own idea may be, it is not sufficient that he show its probability; he must first prove the fallaciousness of all pre-existing theories. I have therefore to ask the indulgence, not only of my readers, but of the author of the previous restoration, if I should appear unnecessarily studious to point out the discrepancies of that design, rather than to confine myself to the explanation of my own. I am satisfied, however, that Sir Charles Fellows is as desirous as any one



THE NEREID MONUMENT OF XANTHUS:

RESTORED BY SIR CHARLES FELLOWS.

objections to his design which have suggested themselves to my mind, and the general process by which the present restoration sprung up. In doing so, it would both be ungenerous and unjust did I not bear testimony to the able and skilful manner in which he, as an amateur, assisted though he were by several professional men, succeeded in framing together a design consisting of so many complex parts.

The analogy of this monument with the mausoleum was the principal cause which led me to investigate it. I had already made use of its double tier of bas-reliefs in the stylobate, as an authority for the decoration of the lower portion of that structure, and I was anxious, in like manner, to adduce it as an authority for the employment of an odd number of columns in the edifices of antiquity: but, however desirous I was of believing in the correctness of Sir Charles Fellows' restoration in this particular, I was fearful of adducing as an example a building, the restoration of which might at some future time be found fallacious.

On a careful examination of the model, therefore, I at once perceived a glaring want of connexion between the plinth of the monument and the superstructure. The former is equal to 22ft. by 33ft.* on the lower course, and 21ft. 9in. by 31ft. 9in. on

of arriving at the truth; and though I cannot pretend to say that he is ready to give up his own theory, I feel sure he would do so if he found another which he considered preferable: and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance that has at all times been afforded me in the course of my investigation, both by that gentleman and by Mr. Rohde Hawkins.

* Sir Charles Fellows gives the dimensions 33 feet by 22 feet to the lower course; Mr. Hawkins to the upper. Sir Charles Fellows does not speak confidently to the amount of set-off, but believes it to be 6 inches. Mr. Hawkins, however, has a sketch taken on the spot, in which it is indicated as $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. It is manifest that Mr. Hawkins' measurement would best allow of the addition of another intercolumniation; but I have preferred adhering to the dimensions given by Sir Charles Fellows, in order to prevent my not doing so being alleged as an objection. In the absence of more authentic particulars, we may conclude that, as one side only of the upper course is remaining, (see a "View of the Base," in p. 17 of Sir C. FELLOWS' *Account, &c.*) the lower course would naturally be that measured.

the upper or top course. The former was found sufficiently entire to leave no doubt of the precise dimensions of this part of the structure. Upon this plinth is placed the pedestal or stylobate, rising abruptly, as represented in the model, at a set-off of 2ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.* at the ends, and $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. at each side. Independent of the awkwardness of having so great a difference in amount between the set-off at the ends and sides, and of the bas-reliefs resting on so large a plinth, we must consider that the monument stood on the brow of a cliff, and, therefore, as seen from below, a great portion of the bas-relief would be intercepted by the projection of the base. On asking Sir Charles Fellows whether he had not discovered, any fragment of a base-moulding, which would have served to elevate the sculpture, and connect it more harmoniously with the plinth, he assured me that he had very diligently searched for such a member, but had not found the slightest vestige that would warrant its introduction.

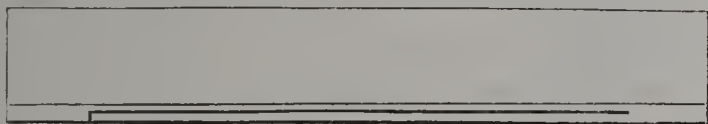
My next hope was, that on measuring the stones I might find that the length was insufficiently given in the model. Here, again, I was disappointed: after measuring most carefully all the bas-reliefs, I could find no authority for increasing the length of the building, supposing it to have had but five columns at the flanks. Notwithstanding my desire, therefore, of establishing an uneven number of columns for the sides of the monument, the irregularity and incongruity of the base prevented my considering that disposition as satisfactory.

Another objection to the model was the disposition of the lacunaria. These were represented as seven in front, and seven on each side, instead of nine, as shown in my plan. They were two in depth, both in the fronts and sides. Not only had they no connexion with the columns, but they presented blank margins, of irregular and greatly disproportioned widths.

* In the lithograph accompanying the *Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument*, the plinth has been originally drawn with a considerable, though not sufficient projection; but the chalk lines have been afterwards scratched out, as may be detected on a careful examination, in order to render the outline more pleasing.

They looked, indeed, as though they had belonged to some earlier building, and been subsequently appropriated to their present situation. On measuring the lacunaria, several of which exist in the Museum, I found that the width from centre to centre was 1ft. 11·7ins., which, multiplied by three, gave 5ft. 11·1ins., a dimension which approached so nearly to the width of the intercolumniation, that I took it for granted that each intercolumniation had three lacunaria.

On examining the sculptured friezes, I found three which gave indication of the width of the intercolumniation. The architrave of the entablature is omitted, and its place supplied by a fillet, 2½in. wide, under which is a sinking of 1in.

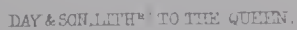


This sinking corresponds with the width of the intercolumniation, the ends of the stones being worked solid, in order to rest on the relieving die over the capitals; the width of each I presume to have corresponded for that purpose. The intermediate width, or length of sinking, was, in stone 111, 4ft. 11in.; in 120 it was 4ft. 11¼in.; and in 117 it was 5ft. 2·4in. while the relieving die of capital measures 1ft. 3in. We thus obtain two intercolumniations, from centre to centre—6ft. 2·125in., and 6ft. 5·4in. Sir Charles Fellows has made use of two intercolumniations in his design, though rather different from these, his calculations being based on the *total* length of the stones; and he has applied the wider intercolumniation at the flanks, in order to assist in lengthening out the sides of his composition. This I conceive to be quite contrary to the practice of the Greeks, who, whenever they allowed any difference, always made the front intercolumniations wider than the sides.*

* Although I shall attempt to show that this was the case in the monument before us by other proofs, I cannot do so by reference to the only three blocks whose

The accompanying plan exhibits the proportions, obtained by a careful admeasurement of every individual stone of this monument in the British Museum, and by subsequent reflections and calculations. I commenced my investigations at the ends, from having more data at these portions of the building than at the sides. The intercolumniation, as we have seen, was 6' 5.4", which, multiplied by 3, gives 19' 4.2" as the front of the monument, from centre to centre. The lacunaria being 1' 11.7" from centre to centre, and being nine in number, gave a total of 17' 9.3" from centre to centre; to which, on adding the two half-architraves (1' 3"), we obtain 19' 0.3"; to which may be added the remaining 3.9" for the two half-beams, thus agreeing precisely, as will be seen on examination of the plan, with the dimension as determined by the lengths of the architrave. Another means of ascertaining the width of the fronts is afforded us by the tympanum of the pediments. It so happens that a considerable portion of the tympanum of one pediment, and the greater part of that of the other, are still remaining; and from these it evidently appears that the building must have been considerably wider than the dimension represented in the model, which is only 18' 6". The half-base of one

length we can accurately determine: for notwithstanding stone 120 does come in at the sides—as appears from the subject of its sculpture—and 117 at one end; stone 111, which is one of the shorter stones, appears from its subject to have occupied the central part of one end, a situation, of all others, which would require a wide intercolumniation. We must, therefore, either conclude that this stone did not occupy the place assumed, or that the length of the chase—the ends of which would be concealed by the projection of the abacus of the capital—did not accurately correspond with the width of the intercolumniation. The best proof of this supposition is afforded by the circumstance, that the relieving die of stones 117 and 118, which, from the continuous lines of the sculpture, are known to have been contiguous, is 2 inches wider than the dimension calculated; but if we were to suppose all the intercolumniations corresponded with this, we should not be able to work in the monument, either in width or length. Owing to these inaccuracies of construction, I cannot pretend to say that my design is precisely correct in all its dimensions: but I consider that the dimensions which I have selected are sufficiently true to enable us to form a correct idea of the form and structure of the monument.

$5^1, 5^v, 4$ 

tympanum measures 9' 8·74", and that of the other, 9' 11·5", giving 19' 5·48", and 19' 11", as the total lengths respectively.

The front being from centre to centre	19' 4·2"
And adding the two half-architraves	1' 3"
And projection of cornice	2' 3·95"
	22' 11·15"
And deducting the set-back of raking cornice . . .	3' 10"
We have the length of the tympanum, by calculation	19' 1·15"

From the difference existing between the two tympana, it is probable that, either at top or bottom, they were let into a sinking in the corona of cornice, the proportionate depth of which would readily equalize them.

We have thus seen that the dimensions determined by the lengths of the sculptured friezes, by the width of the lacunaria, and by the raking lines of the pediments, all coincide very accurately together; we now proceed to examine how these dimensions agree with the width of the existing base, which measures in its upper course 21' 9."

The front, from centre to centre, being	19' 4·2"
And adding the two half-diameters	1' 2·318"
The projection of base 6", and of cornice beyond base, 4" .	0' 10"
	21' 4·518"
Deducting the projection of cornice beyond face of pedestal .	0' 11·5"
	20' 5·018"
And adding for the battering of pedestal	0' 6"
We have a total width of stylobate of	20' 11·018"

which leaves 4·991" for set-off on upper plinth, or about one-half of that shown in model, while it agrees most perfectly with the measurements taken by Mr. Hawkins, at Xanthus.*

* "Upon the base which still exists there are the marks of the bed worked for the next course; this bed extends 1' 9" inwards from the face of the work: it is

The placing of the four statues on the angles of the pediment,* I consider to be quite at variance with the practice of the ancients. Looking at them from a diagonal point of view, they produce the effect of obelisks—crude perpendicular forms, having no harmony or connexion with the other lines of the pediment. I, therefore, propose to place them in the end intercolumniations of the sides. When we consider the unusual width of the intercolumniations of this monument, five such intercolumniations would, I imagine, appear too straggling; to remedy which I have supposed the end intercolumniations to be 5' 10·85", instead of 6' 2·125": or, so much less than the central intercolumniations of the sides, as these are less than the front; and that these end intercolumniations were decorated with the smaller statues, which would thus give a more compact character to the flanks, and offer a more pyramidal outline to the groups of sculpture. Several objections will be made to this position of the smaller statues, especially by those who maintain that the larger statues represent Nereids. It will be alleged that these statues are weather-worn equally all round, evincing that they occupied an exposed situation on the roof of the monument, while the larger statues are injured only in front; thereby showing that they were protected by their position in the intercolumniations. But, on examining these statues, it will be found that one of them (83) is weather-worn at the back as in front; and if it be said that this may be accounted for by supposing it to have occupied one of the angular intercolumniations, then this same supposition will account for the smaller statues being so weather-worn, inas-

therefore evident that the next course of stones must have extended to that size. Now, there is no evidence of any other stones being placed upon this, except those of the Parian marble: these stones are all 1' 4" thick, and, therefore, could only have been set-in 5 inches from the face of the base. This will apply both to the length and width."—Abridg. of a paper read at the R.I.B.A. by M. ROHDE HAWKINS, Esq., and published in the *Civil Eng. and Architect's Journal*, viii. 100.

* The griffins introduced in my restoration are purely conjectural, and are introduced only to show the form and character of acroterial ornaments.

much as they would occupy a similar position. As regards the question whether these statues represent Nereids or Cities, my province is not to reconcile the building with the theory, but to let the theory base itself on the building. Of whatever, therefore, the emblems attached to the larger statues be indicative, I consider that the places most appropriate for the smaller statues, without emblems, are the end intercolumniations, whether we consider the form, the size, or the character of these figures. Much stress has been laid upon the circumstance of some of the statues having emblems, and others not; but whatever may be the signification of this difference, there is too much identity of movement, of drapery, and of character, to be observed in these figures, in common with the larger statues, to allow of their being separated.

We have then, 3 intercolumniations of	6' 2.125"	=	18' 6.375"
„ 2 „	5' 10.85"	=	11' 9.7"
Making a total on flank, from centre to centre, of . .			30' 4.075"
Adding 1' 2.318", 6", and 4", as before			2' 0.318"
			32' 4.393"
Deducting the projection of cornice beyond stylobate .			0' 11.5"
			31' 4.893"
And adding 3" for battering			0' 6"
We obtain			31' 10.893"

which leaves us just 5.053" (instead of 2' 3.75", as by model), for the set-off at each end of plinth, or within the sixteenth of an inch of what we calculated for the sides.

The next points to determine are the disposition of the lacunaria and the size of the cella. On examining the model, it will be seen that the lacunaria are arranged in two rows all round, and that great irregularities are observable in the mode of working them. In constructing my plan, after having found the outer columns, I set off two lacunaria on the sides and three at each end; and on conferring with Sir Charles Fellows, I found that the men employed in excavating had found what

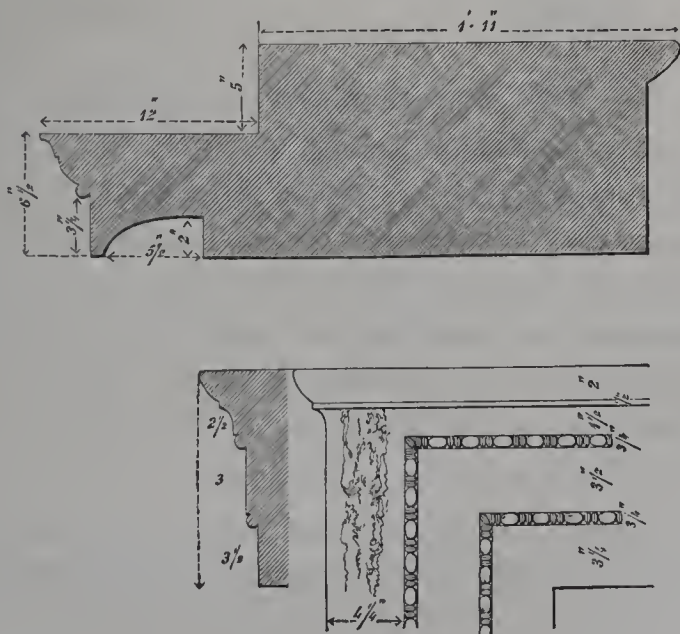
they called a triple "pig's-trough;" but, being broken, it had not been brought to England. The three panels measure 4' 6.75", each panel being 1' 6", and the margin at each end 5.375". The building, as determined by the preceding calculations, was 30' 4.075" by 19' 4.2"; and, on applying these dimensions of the lacunaria, we find that they work-in most accurately both in the breadth and length, three lacunaria appearing in each intercolumniation, from whatever point of view the building was regarded.

	On sides.	At ends.
Thus 2 half-architraves measure	1' 3"	1' 3"
3 panels at each end	9' 1.5"	—
2" mouldings	0' 8"	—
Architrave beams, ends of cella	1' 11"	—
7 lacunaria, centre to centre	13' 9.9"	13' 9.9"
2 end ditto, including end beams . . .	3' 6.675"	4' 3.3"
From centre to centre	30' 4.075"	19' 4.2"

Taking it as a fixed principle that the lacunaria must have been designed with reference to the pteron, I laid them down according to the above calculation, without any regard to the form and dimensions that the cella would require. On completing the lacunaria, I perceived that the cella became considerably wider and longer than that represented in the model, which is 14' 10.5" by 9' 0", instead of 20' 8.393" by 11' 3.7", as in my restoration. This increased width of the cella involved two difficulties: that of supporting the blocks of sculptured frieze which ran round the cella, and the awkwardness and unsightliness of this extended width. In the contracted width of the cella in the model, the stones 101 and 102, which originally formed one block, could just reach from anta to anta, but by increasing the width this became impossible. In considering how I might remedy this objection, the idea occurred—whether there might not be room for the introduction of columns *in antis* at either end of the cella; and on examining the plan I perceived that there was precisely the space requisite

for this arrangement; and thus both objections were completely answered. The long stones, 101, 102, extended from one of the antæ to the further column; and the cella, which at first appeared ill-proportioned, now assumed a form of increased elegance and beauty: and it was satisfactory to find that this disposition of plan in my design was not an arbitrary one of fancy, but one that grew entirely from necessity and construction,—although the arrangement might have been surmised, from the circumstance of the antæ having their internal faces wider than the external, as in the generality of Greek temples; the former being 11 inches in width, the latter $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches only.

The doorway, as determined by the proportionate height of the columns, according to the rules of Vitruvius (iv. 6), should be four feet in width; and on looking over Mr. Hawkins' notebook, I find two fragments* of an architrave and cornice which correspond very well with this proportion.

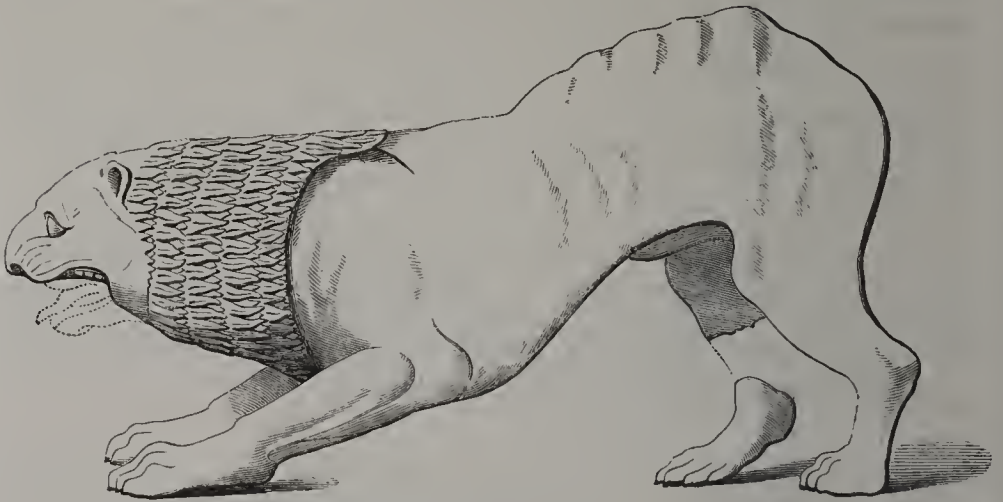


From one of these it appears that the walls of the cella were

* Left at Xanthus.

thicker than those of the projecting walls of the antæ; and they were probably made so, as space was of no consequence in the interior, and as extra thickness to these walls would give greater stability to the entire fabric.

Among the objects connected with this monument were found the fragments of four lions, which, in the model, are



placed in the end intercolumniations, as though projecting from so many port-holes.* The situation which I have considered to be best adapted for them is in front of the columns and antæ, looking towards and protecting the doorway, as in the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ. They accord with the Egyptian practice of guarding the doors of their temples in a similar manner, a custom which, by various gradations, was so generally adopted by the Byzantines in their churches.†

* As Sir C. Fellows endeavours to fix the position of the smaller statues as the angle acroteria of the pediment by their being weather-worn equally all round, so he strives to fix the position of the lions in the end intercolumniations, by asserting that their noses are more weather-worn than the other parts of their bodies. But it so happens that the nose of one of the two lions in the British Museum (No. 139, a,) is better preserved than any other part; in fact, it is the only part which preserves a portion of its original polish.

† In another Lycian monument at Myra, we find a tetrastyle front, consisting of two columns on the outside, and two pilasters within, terminating with lions' heads,

I have now explained the various alterations proposed in my restoration, together with the proofs and reasons by which I endeavour to establish them: it remains to offer a few observations on the style of the edifice.

We remark, in the first place, that as a *heroum* it is furnished with two steps, to distinguish it from the temples, which had three. Upon this rises the stylobate, the sides of which batter 3 inches in their height. Another example of this practice is the Tomb of Theron at Agrigentum, but there the diminution is rapid and unpleasing, whereas, in the examples before us, the inclination is so gentle, that, like the entasis of the Greek columns, we are charmed with its effect, without being sensible of its existence. A striking peculiarity is displayed in the double line of bas-reliefs, it being the only instance of the kind with which we were acquainted. From analogy with this monument, I endeavoured to show that the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus was so decorated; and in No. 1 of the MUSEUM OF CLASS. ANTIQ. we have had an account of a monument recently discovered by Professor Schoenborn, in which two rows of

(TEXIER, iii. pl. 225). The reader will not fail to call to mind the lions of Solomon's throne, and the dogs of the palace of Alcinous. They might have reference to the emblem of the Solymean people, or they might be introduced merely as emblems of power and dignity. In elucidation of this subject, I have been favoured with the following note by Professor Gerhard:—"With respect to the lions which, in your restoration of the Xanthian monument, are at the entrance of the cella, you will not fail to recollect the mother of the gods, accompanied so frequently with the same symbol, as also the identity of that great goddess with the Aphrodite of Mount Ida, and the worship offered to Aphrodite in Lycia, recorded to us by Proclus (Cf. LLOYD, *Xanthian Marbles*, p. 14). The identity of Aphrodite with the mother of the gods is especially remarkable in a bronze figure published by LECHEVALIER (*Voyage de la Troade*, pl. 23), and which I have republished and explained in my memoir on the Metroon and the mother of the gods (pl. ii. No. 3). It represents an Aphrodite, clearly recognisable as such by her costume, and surrounded by lions, even on her shoulders. I may also remind you of the funereal signification of Aphrodite *Epitimbia* and *Libitina*, (Cf. my *Venere-Proserpina*, Fiesole, 1825; and LLOYD, l. c. p. 37). Thus the representation of the lions in front of the door of a monument probably sepulchral, and probably dedicated to Aphrodite as a Lycian goddess, will be without any serious difficulty."

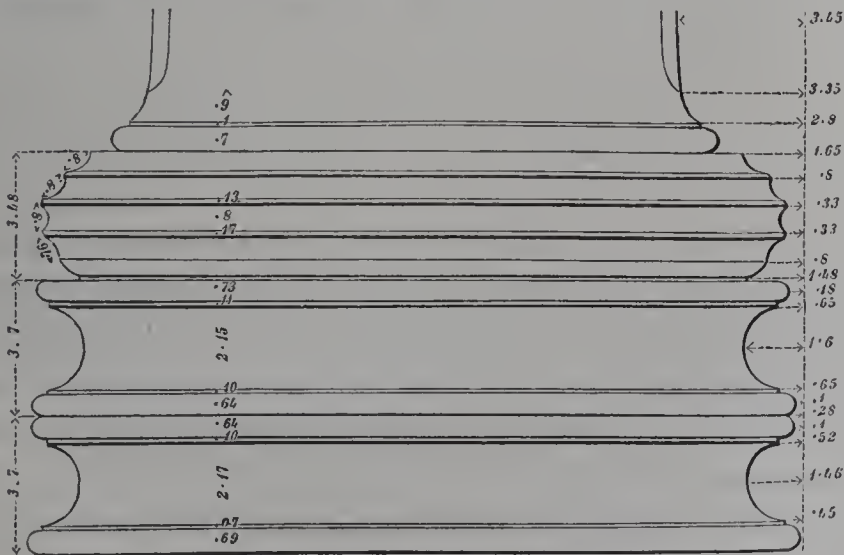
bas-reliefs run round the walls of the peribolus. The Gigantomachia, or battle of the gods and giants, on the south wall of the Acropolis at Athens, may perhaps be adduced as a further example. Considerable beauty is obtained by the great disparity of size in the two bas-reliefs, which is evidently an indication of a pure style of art. This effect is heightened by the variation in the treatment of the two bas-reliefs: the lower represents individual groups,—the upper, collective masses; the lower gives all the detail of the action,—the upper is confined to the general manœuvres; the lower is varied by every graceful movement of the human form, and by the balancing of individual parts, so as to exhibit those principles of composition which we find in all works of art of the best period,—the upper derives its effect from the continued and united movement of large masses. The lower is characterised by the graceful flowing lines of cavalry,—the upper, by the marshalling of compact bodies of foot; the lower is principally in *basso-relievo*, presenting the appearance of a solid slab,—the upper is almost entirely in *alto-relievo*, having the effect of a rich fret-work.

It is worthy of remark, that in the lower frieze of the stylobate the composition of the several figures is regulated by the joints of the masonry, but not so in the upper frieze. We cannot deduce any certain inference from this fact, for we find these two methods pursued in buildings nearly contemporary. The latter practice is followed in the Parthenon; the former, with very few exceptions, in the Theseion. Several circumstances may have led to the adoption of the former method. The sculptor might have desired to avoid the interference of perpendicular lines in his compositions; he might have been fearful of the parts in contiguity to the joints being liable to injury, or each composition might have been kept distinct, to enable the sculptor to finish it in his *atelier*, before the block was raised to its proper position in the temple. This we know to have been the practice in some of the Greek

temples, and there is an anecdote recorded to us of Phidias and Alcamenes particularly relating to this circumstance.*

Great skill is shown in the manner of ranging the sculpture with the face of the plain intermediate wall. Had the face of the sculpture been in the same line with that of the wall, the latter would have appeared bossed out, as in what we call rustics, and would have produced a heavy effect as seen from a diagonal point of view. On the other hand, if the ground or back of the sculptures had ranged with this line, the figures would then have appeared without support. To remedy this, a chase or sinking is introduced immediately beneath each course, which in the lower frieze measures 1·2", and in the upper ·9". This at the same time affords a projecting ledge for the support of the figured reliefs, and it gives a clear sharp line of shadow, as in the chase similarly executed in the steps of Grecian temples.

The cornice of the stylobate is remarkable, in consisting of a double row of egg and tongue moulding,† which, though occasionally met with in antæ-capitals, is so unique in its present application as to afford presumptive proof of its early origin. The bases of the columns also are of peculiar profile, being con-



* TZETZES, *Chil.* viii. *Hist.* 193.

† An unappropriated fragment of the natural stone of the country exhibits a triple row of this ornament.

siderably higher than in any other known example. This was obviously intended to counteract the foreshortening caused by the obliquity of the visual rays. This evidence of study and design, this acquaintance with and attention to the principles of optical perspective, is another proof of remote antiquity; the practice of the Romans constantly being to equalize the forms. Again, the largeness of the capital shows no affinity to Roman models, which appear more and more reduced as they become more recent.

A peculiarity in the entablature consists in the frieze being increased so as to admit of sculpture, and the architrave being almost entirely suppressed. An inverse example of this practice occurs in the ancient temple at Assos, the sculptures of which are now in the Louvre. They occur on the architrave; the frieze, with the exception of the *guttæ*, being totally omitted.

Among the evidences of design and skill on the part of the Greek architect, the arrangement of the columns is particularly worthy of study. The statues do not merely stand in the intercolumniations, they are necessary to them: by their filling up the void spaces, they appear to give strength and compactness to the *aræostyle* arrangement: and the balance of parts is such, that it is difficult to say whether the statues were made for the intercolumniations, or the intercolumniations for the statues.

My professed object being to treat of the architectural construction of the monument, I might be excused from entering into any explanation of its sculpture, or from attempting to define the age or purpose of its erection: but, as Sir Charles Fellows' restoration is mainly based upon his arrangement of the sculptured bas-reliefs, the upper frieze of which he maintains cannot be placed in any other manner,* it is necessary to

* Sir Charles Fellows founds this supposition in part upon the circumstance that he has made use of all the blocks of the city frieze; that if one were taken away he

examine whether any incongruities can be detected in such arrangement, and whether the blocks will at least as equally apply to the more extended proportions of the present design.

Beginning, according to Sir Charles Fellows' numeration, with his north-west end, stones 50—54, the only alteration I would propose is the substitution of stone 68 for that of 53, the reason for which I will presently explain. On the north-east side, stones 54—60, we see at one end an irascible chief, on stone 55, inveighing against the cowardice or treachery of three Ionian soldiers on stone 54; and at the other end we see, on stone 59, eight Ionians advancing boldly, in rank and file, against one poor soldier, a countryman carrying an umbrella and a stool, and another with a bag swung over his shoulders. With the south-east end, stones 60—64, I entirely agree; but on the remaining side, the south-west, stones 64—68, and 50, we have some inexplicable story represented, of armed forces advancing against the city on both sides, one part of whom appear to be Xanthians, though it is impossible to divine their object.

In lieu of this arrangement I propose,* in the first compartment, the north-east side, to represent the general battle in the plain. The two extreme blocks at either end exhibit armed troops advancing in close array. The end figure in stone 53 is calling on those behind him, and corresponds to the end figure

would not be able to complete his design, and that if one more were given him, he would not be able to make use of it. But if, in the restoration of the monument, we were allowed to make use only of those portions of it which have been discovered, we should have the bottom of the building smaller than the top, it would exhibit but one angle capital, no one complete statue, and many other absurdities.

* Much light might have been thrown upon this arrangement, had a careful register been kept of the situation of the several blocks at the period of excavation. Such register was commenced at the second expedition, and the lacunæ were supplied from recollection. The plan on the model in the British Museum, accompanying Sir Charles Fellows' design, is the only document on the subject which has come before the public; but, with every conscientious desire on the part of Sir Charles Fellows to render it perfect, it cannot be regarded as of any great authority.

on stone 55, who in like manner calls on those advancing in his rear. The three central blocks are occupied by engaging combatants. In the next scene, the south-west side, we have stone 60 on the right, the Lycians flocking in to the defence of the town; and from the stool, and booty, and what appears to be an umbrella, it would seem that they had had a shadow of success in the late engagement. In the middle of the picture the walls appear well manned; but, on the other side, the Ionians are advancing with great ardour, against whom the Xanthians attempt a sally. The next event represented is the escalade, which is well described by Sir Charles Fellows. The only alteration I have made is changing stone 53 for 68, on account of the latter being longer, and enabling me to make up the dimensions I require; while stone 53 better agrees with the battle scene. The story ends on the south-east side, where Harpagus is represented sitting in judgment on the defeated Xanthians.

By this disposition we have, according to Mr. Hawkins' dimensions, who measured every stone on the spot before the backs were sawn off, and consequently before many of the side joints were concealed*—

N.E. side.	S.W. side.	N.W. end.	S.E. end.
64 .. 4' 6·75"	54 .. 2' 3·5"	50 .. 2' 3·25"	60 .. 4' 5·5"
55 .. 4' 3"	59 .. 4' 8" +	51 .. 4' 2"	61 .. 4' 3·5"
57 .. 4' 8·5"	65 .. 4' 8"	52 .. 4' 5·5"	62 .. 4' 3·5"
56 .. 4' 3"	66 .. 4' 7·5"	68 .. 4' 8·5"	63 .. 4' 3·5"
58 .. 4' 9"	67 .. 4' 10"	54 .. 4' 6" +	64 .. 2' 2"
	Two stones wanting.		
53 .. 4' 3·5"	60 .. 2' 0" +		
50 .. 4' 6·25"		20' 1·25" +	19' 6"
31' 4"	23' 1" +		

* The dimensions required by calculation are 31' 5·018" by 20' 5·018". It cannot be expected that we should determine the order of these sculptures with any certainty. Had the two adjacent sides of block 54 been on separate stones, we should have confidently asserted that one side represented the body-guard of Harpagus; and the other, prisoners led away who had received their sentence: whereas, by being on one stone, we are now sure that neither subject can have belonged to the group of Harpagus on the south-east side.

Two theories have appeared relative to the age and destination of the structure. The one identifies the statues with the Nereids, and the structure itself as intended to commemorate the revival of population: the other assigns it as a tomb to Harpagus, and associates the statues with the various cities of Ionia that contributed to his victory. Among the objections which have been urged to the latter theory, is the circumstance that no coin is to be found in which the serpent is represented as the symbol of Miletus; and, indeed, it would appear to be much more attributable to Cos, which is provided, however, with another emblem, the crab. The dove of Cnidus appears more to resemble some water-fowl, so naturally is the body thrown on one side to give full action to the leg, which is bent, as in the act of swimming. One of the three children of the pediment is evidently a female, a fact at variance with the idea that these figures represented Lydus, Misus, and Cares.

On the other hand, the Nereid theory, although supported with great talent and research—although the appearance of the Nereids, the children on the acroteria, and the divinities in the pediment, are all accounted for—still remains unsatisfactory, so far as the structure itself is concerned; for while the difficult and doubtful mythological sculptures are attempted to be explained, the more evident and conclusive historical bas-reliefs are totally disregarded.

In the attribution of the principal figure in the north-western pediment to Hephæstus, some stress is laid on the supposed circumstance, that the block of marble of which this half of the pediment is composed, is the only specimen of fetid stone in the structure. It is true that this block is more strongly impregnated with carbonaceous properties than any of the others, but we find that several of the blocks, particularly 101, 102, 116, and 122, are of carbonaceous limestone, and no latent signification can therefore be attributed to the circumstance of its employment. This stone is, indeed, only applied to the upper portion of the monument, where it was considered

less important. Corroborated though such theory be by those passages which describe the Nereids as rushing in rapid motion—

“Winding in circles by the clear white beach, the fifty daughters of Nereus chorused her nuptials;”*

and as being carried by, or on, various animals—

“The Nereids also went, the rumour heard, borne on various (creatures), and vie in heaping new presents on the nuptials;”†

and though we know that a monument was raised at Xanthus to commemorate the revival of population—

“We hymn the Queen of the Lycians, Kour-Aphrodite
Whose ill-averting aid once enjoying,
The divinely-prompted leaders of our country
Founded in the city a sacred monument,
Having the symbols of mystic marriage, of the mystic spousals
Of Hephæstus fiery and Uranian Aphrodite,” &c.‡

yet these circumstances, viewed conjointly, do not, I think, sufficiently explain the character impressed upon the monument by its sculptured bas-reliefs.

No doubt has been or can be entertained on the subject represented on the upper frieze of the stylobate. It so evidently depicts the taking of the city by Harpagus, that it would be unreasonable to deny the fact: the only objection which can be raised to the presumption is the circumstance, that the conflagration of the city, recorded by Herodotus, is not here represented. The lower frieze is accessory to the same subject, and therefore the most important of the bas-reliefs are devoted solely to the commemoration of this event. But had the monument

* EURIP. *Iphig. in Aul.* v. 1054: quoted by LLOYD, *Xanthian Marbles*, 8vo. Pickering, 1845.

† CLAUDIAN, *de Nupt. II.* § M. 59: quoted by LLOYD; though in this passage they are represented as naked.

‡ PROCLUS, *Hym. Aphrod.* quoted by LLOYD, *ut supra*.

been erected, as has been supposed, in consequence of the battle of the Eurymedon, we might have expected to find some reference to that event exhibited in the bas-reliefs; had the monument been raised by the later Xanthians, in gratitude for the revival of their population, we might have expected to find their disaster but casually alluded to; to behold their warriors contending nobly, though vainly, against overwhelming odds; to have seen their inconsiderable numbers trodden down by countless hordes of Persians, assisted by their brother Greeks (instead of which, we find the numbers very equally disposed on either side); but, above all, we should have expected to behold the last and noblest act of their heroism—the destruction of themselves, their wives and children, in the conflagration of their city. While one of the friezes was devoted to this subject, we might have expected to see in the other a representation of those causes which had induced the return of prosperity and independence; but, however directly the mythical accessories may be supposed to refer to this event, it is a strong presumption against their interpretation in this light, that the event is in nowise indicated in any of the more intelligible historic sculptures: for in the other friezes we find on the cella a funeral procession, among the figures of which is the horse of a deceased warrior; a sacrifice to the gods, a sacrifice in honour of the deceased, and a festive banquet; and on the outer frieze we have a procession of Persians offering dresses, a procession of Greeks offering kids, fruit, &c. On one side of the monument, the Greeks are commemorating their victory with games;* and with the same object the Persians,† on the other side, are

* That the Greeks had games of this description, see ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ, von Dr. JOHANN HEINRICH KRAUSE, 8vo. Leip. 1841, pp. 612 and 861-863. The subject of this bas-relief has been hitherto interpreted as a battle of horse and foot.

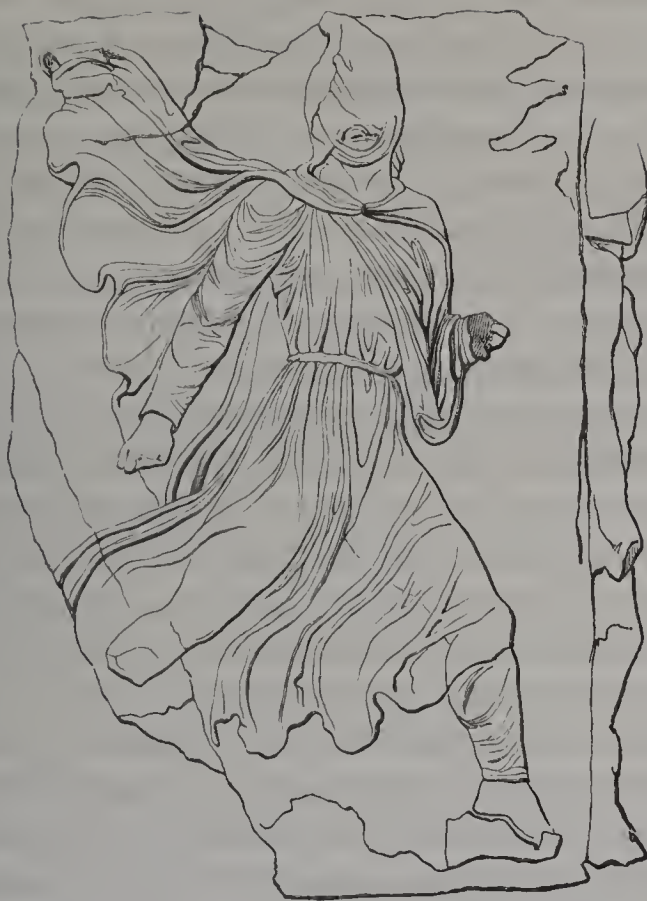
† Another argument in favour of the *Nereid Monument* has been adduced by the assertion, that—"the absence of Persian costume among the celebrators of the funeral feast is another point controverting the idea of the building as a Heroön of the Harpagi:" but the conspicuous figures of the Persians in the lower frieze, the principal position given to Harpagus in the upper or city frieze; and the two friezes here

amusing themselves in the chase. The subject even seems carried out in the pediments: for in the south-eastern, one half of which is preserved to us, we have a spirited charge of cavalry against infantry, and in the north-western there seem to be the supreme deities, to whose assistance they were indebted for the victory. The two male figures of the centre acroterial ornament are so identical in attitude, and so difficult to form into one group with the female figure, that I have supposed a similar group of one Ionian youth with a captive Lycian damsel to occupy a corresponding position on each pediment. Now all these actions are perfectly intelligible, if we suppose the monument to have been raised in honour of the victors; but they are utterly at variance with the consideration of its having been erected by the vanquished.

Judging, then, of the monument solely from its intrinsic evidence, I consider that it must have been erected during the period of Persian dominion; that it served as a tomb, or rather was raised over the tombs of those who fell in the siege; that it was designed and executed by the Ionians, who, with patriotic feeling, represented themselves as fighting equally against the Lycians—Greek against Greek—and studiously avoided the introduction of more Persians than they were obliged to admit by the will of their masters; and, with the cunning for which they were so noted, at the same time that they were compelled to represent them in the action of victory, (see stones Nos. 39 and 47 in the British Museum,) they have so cleverly managed one figure, that while they could persuade the Persians that their countryman was striding to victory, he was in reality flying ignobly before his foe.*

referred to, of the Persian sacrifice and the Persian hunting games, are a sufficient answer to such objection. Another proof of oriental influence on its architecture, were any wanting, is afforded by the Assyrian character of its city frieze.

* This figure is on an angle-stone, and consequently there could have been no figures in front of him. The same contempt appears to have been intended, by indicating manly vigour in all the Greeks, as a mark of distinction from the effeminate Persians. The application of bronze for this purpose in the acroterial figures is very remarkable.



In attributing the erection of the monument to the period of the Persian sway, from 541 to 333 B. C., we find that the Erechtheum occupies a position about midway, 409 B. C.,—a date which affords us some clue for the date of erection of the Xanthian monument. Herodotus recited his history at the Olympic games in 445 B. C., about a century after the conquest by the Persians, and he describes the inhabitants as calling themselves Xanthians, although but few of them were really descended from the ancient inhabitants:—a circumstance which clearly proves that a feeling had then sprung up in favour of the original inhabitants. We can hardly suppose that, with such a revolution of feeling, the people would be desirous of perpetuating the remembrance of an event, the glory of which would be attributable to the Persians, and

which, in their assumed name, would cast disgrace upon themselves. It is far more natural to suppose that the monument was erected shortly after the conquest, when the rivalry of races was yet strong, and when the Ionian settlers, to whom Harpagus had granted the territory, felt proud of their late conquest: for it is seldom that we find costly works undertaken, except under the immediate impulse of excitement, and even these are often incomplete, in consequence of political or other changes. In attributing the erection to a period approaching to 500 B. c., were the monument at Athens we might require a more archaic style of treatment, both in the architecture and sculpture; but there is every reason to believe that the arts in Asia were more early cultivated than in Greece; not that they ever reached so high a standard of excellence as they afterwards attained at Athens, but they more early shook off the trammels of the conventional primitive styles, and more rapidly advanced in invention and development of form.*

The chief cause of this priority of cultivation was the widely-spread commerce of the Asiatics. These people were well skilled in navigation, extending their traffic to distant nations, while the small craft of European Greece scarcely ventured beyond the sight of land. They were daily brought into communication with the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and the older inhabitants of Asia, and by the impulse thus given by commerce, the various arts and sciences rose, if not to perfection, at least to general cultivation. They had distinguished themselves in poetry, history, music, and the arts and sciences, long before the Athenians applied themselves to these studies. But, apart from other considerations, the very name of the style of architecture in which this building is constructed

* The distinction of race between the Dorians and the Ionians caused a similar difference in the cultivation of the arts in Greece, and it is well known that the Doric colony at Ægina retained its ancient conventionality in art long after the Ionians of the neighbouring city, Athens, had emancipated themselves from its fetters.—See MÜLLER'S *Dorians*.

would prove its Asiatic origin; and we may, therefore, readily believe that such a building as this, exhibiting all the character and details of the architecture of the Erechtheum, though inferior to it in the delicacy of its execution, may have preceded that temple in point of antiquity; and this reasoning has the greater confirmation, from the circumstance that all the peculiarities or points of departure from models of a more perfect character which are observable in this structure, are evidences of greater rather than of less antiquity.

Thus, the bases of the columns are of Asiatic style, a similar combination of mouldings being met with only in the temples of Samos, Branchidæ, and Priene, and in the baths at Cnidus. Now the Xanthian base is the highest in proportion to the diameter of the column of any known example, and we find this height continually decreasing as we approach a later period. The temple at Samos is known to be the most ancient of the Greek temples of Asia Minor, and the squareness of its base resembles the Xanthian example more closely than any of the others. The only approach to the Ionic base in Attica was the fluting of one or both of the torus-mouldings, as in the Erechtheum, the temple of Nike Apteros, and the Propylæa of Eleusis.

The largeness of the capitals is another proof of antiquity; and though the style of them is not equal to those of the Erechtheum, the design and character, and even the less perfect execution of them, will be found to partake of the archaic style of more early examples;* and in the same manner we find that the shafts of the columns, though executed without that extraordinary precision of later times, exhibit a perceptible entasis, amounting to one-sixth of an inch.†

The inferiority of execution might, notwithstanding what we have just said, be regarded as an indication of a decline in

* See Nos. 398 and 410 Brit. Mus. from the Temple of Artemis Eucleia, and the Acropolis at Athens.

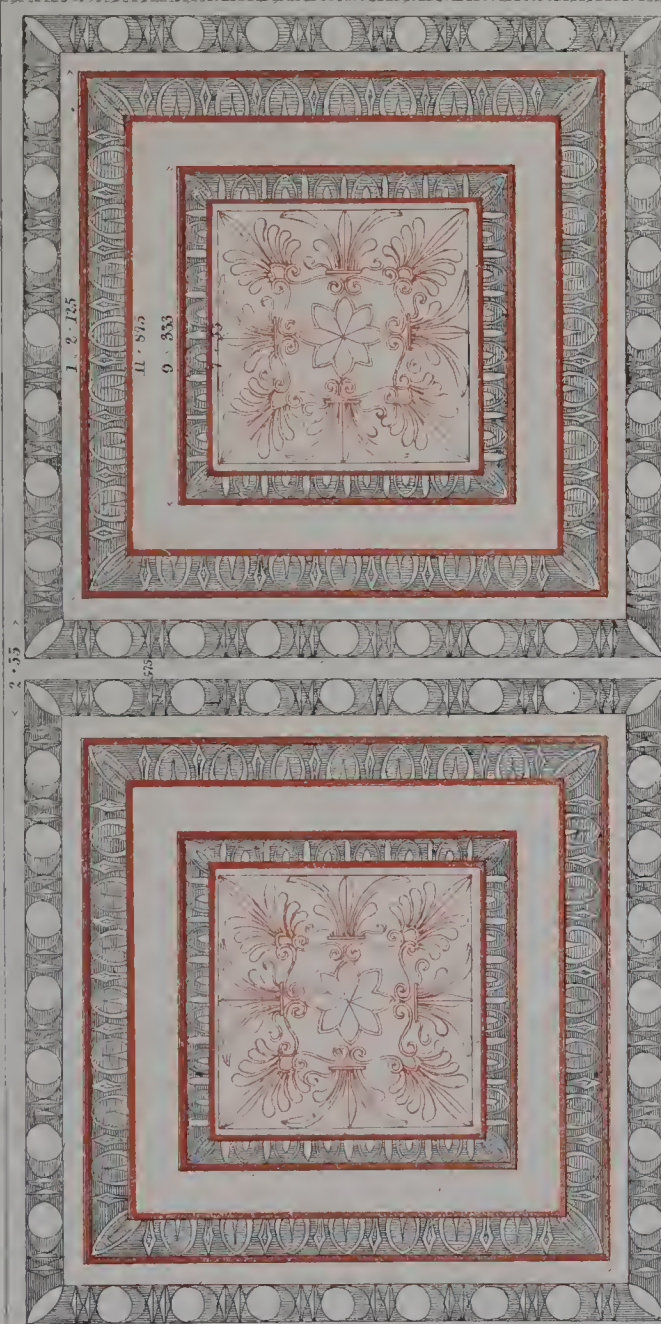
† As measured with the assistance of Mr. Penrose.

art; but we should consider that the structure, though designed by Greek artists, was raised in a distant country, and, possibly, under other disadvantageous circumstances.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of polychromy to determine when the custom of decorating their buildings with colour was discontinued; but we know that the more early edifices were so ornamented. We find traces of this decoration on several parts of the structure; but red is the only colour so preserved. A circle of red is very evident round the rim of the shield borne by one of the warriors in the western pediment; a line of colour marks the deep spiral chase in one of the Ionic volutes; but one of the most perfect portions of the building in this respect is the coffered ceiling. Each square sinking of the lacunaria has a well-preserved red line immediately in the internal angle. Other ornaments, of other colours, are very discernible, but, though the forms are perfectly recognisable, the colours can no longer be determined, and I have accordingly represented them by etched lines in the accompanying plate. The central ornament, in red outline, was probably gilt, on a blue ground. The reel moulding is remarkable in representing the bead as shaded, so as to give it the effect of a *sculptured* ornament. I am not aware of any other instance of this practice. It should be stated that abundant authority exists for every portion of the ornament represented, though the colour is fast fading from the sight by the action of our atmosphere, and the baneful effect of the sponge of the amateur-antiquary.

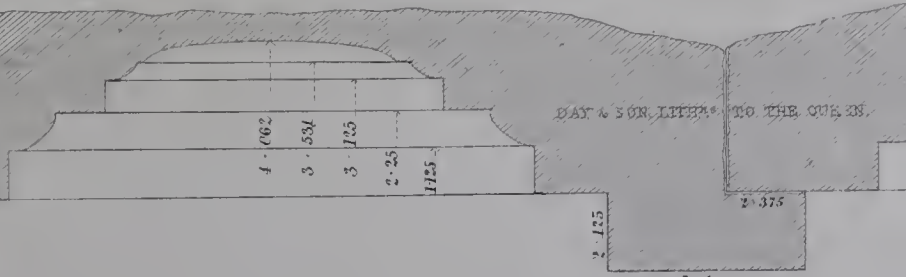
It is extremely desirable that, whenever marbles are known to exhibit traces of colour, such colour should be preserved in the most careful manner. It is very certain that colour may remain on the surface, but, owing to dust and rain, and accidental staining, such colours may become imperceptible even to the keenest eye, until brought out by some cleansing process. An instance to this effect is afforded in the Halicarnassian Marbles, which have now been exposed for some years in the British Museum, in a

THE IONIC MONUMENT AT XANTHUS.



COLOURED DECORATION OF LACUNARIA.
ONE SIXTH FULL SIZE.

E.F. The etched lines indicate ornament the colours of which are no longer discernible.



position which would enable any one to examine them with the greatest care and attention; but not the slightest trace of colour could be discerned. Recently, however, plaster casts have been made of some of these marbles; and, in the process of moulding them, colour was reported to have been distinctly traceable. The marble statues of Pompeii, whenever they show any indication of Greek influence, invariably exhibit colour on their first discovery; but after a few years' exposure to the air, all such colour invariably disappears. It is to be hoped that some able chemist will be able to discover the best mode of bringing out colour upon such marbles as are suspected to have been once so decorated, and of protecting it with some preparation, the chemical nature of which shall not affect the pigments, while it shall have the effect of rendering them constantly visible, without imparting a gloss, or false surface, to the marble.

Connected with this subject, the following extract of a letter from Sir Charles Fellows, dated 1st August, 1850, will be read with interest:—

“Upon all the soffits or panels of ceiling of the Ionic monument, beautiful Greek patterns were traced in red lines. You can still trace them, but you had better refer to the Lycian portfolio in the Museum, for which fac-similes were made when first found. Upon the sculpture, a line of red was traced around the border of each shield; also a kind of horse-hair tail was traced from the helmets, upon the unsculptured back-ground, in the figures of the tympanum. On these figures you also see that metal, or some material, has been used to ornament the breasts, &c., &c., of the figures. From these remains we may doubtless infer much more.”

This application of metal, as well as that referred to in p. 278, is remarkable, when we consider that those parts, as armour and the reins of horses, which were frequently executed in metal, were here indicated neither in the stone, nor in any other material.

If we admit this opinion of the period of architecture to be correct, the sculpture must necessarily partake of the same antiquity.* This opinion of their antiquity Mr. Gibson coincides in, from a comparison of these sculptures with the Halicarnassian Marbles;† and an additional confirmation of it is afforded by a comparison of them with those of the Temple of Magnesia *ad Mæandrum*. The sculptures of this temple‡ are of a low style of art, while those of the Xanthian Monument, though inferior to the marbles of the Parthenon in execution and delicacy of design, are almost equal to them in power of invention. Now, as the Magnesian Temple is of about the same age as the other great temples of Asia Minor, this opinion of its relative antiquity will oblige us to assign a date to the Xanthian Monument approaching the period we have already named.

Whether we regard this monument as illustrative of the development of art, or as elucidating historical events, there is so much that is worthy of study and investigation, that it is to be hoped its discoverer will one day present us with such an account of its character and construction, and such accurate drawings of its sculpture and ornaments, as shall do credit at once to the monument and himself.

EDWARD FALKENER.

* Speaking of this monument, Professor Gerhard says—"These sculptures are the most valuable evidences of a style of art in Asia Minor of the Ionic race, which we can only attribute to the most perfect period of Greek sculpture (*Archæol. Zeitung*. i. 353); and Professor Welcker, in his additions to MÜLLER's *Ancient Art and its Remains*, speaks of its "masterly friezes" as "belonging to the period of the Phygalian sculptures," and of its statues as "surpassing even the Mænads of Scopas in boldness and lightness of representation."

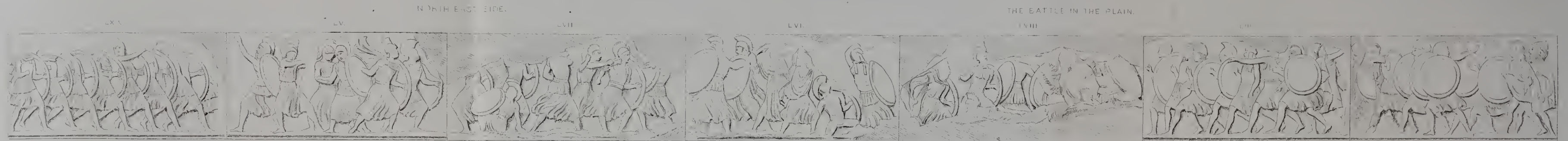
† See ante, p. 154.

‡ They were brought over to Paris by the French government at great expense, and have since been allowed to lie neglected in the court of the Louvre.

THE UPPER FRIEZE OF THE IONIC HEROUM AT XANTHUS,

NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AS ARRANGED BY E. FALKNER.



XXIII.

A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE EXCAVATIONS
OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE
KINGDOM OF NAPLES,
FROM 1830 TO 1849:

DURING THE OFFICE OF CARLO BONUCCI, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
THE EXCAVATIONS.

THE kingdom of Naples is crowded with monuments of all ages and of all schools. If their descriptions and details were published, they would afford many new pages to the history of the arts and sciences, no less than to that of nations.

Deriving its civilization from the Pelasgians and Magna Græcia,—our country, the glorious seat of the Lombards, the Normans, the Suabians, and the house of Anjou, has never seen its star of civilization, of knowledge and of art, entirely decline. We have no need, like other nations, to travel into distant countries to study monuments not yet explored, to seek there some new angle, some column, some stone, which should reveal to us the past: we have too many monuments in our own country yet unknown, which reveal to us at every step some glory of our ancestors, now forgotten, or some woe no longer lamented.

With these ample materials before us, it is our duty to record faithfully the excavations and discoveries that have taken place in different portions of the kingdom.

CUMA.

This is the most ancient city of Italy, and the centre of our earliest civilization; deriving from the Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, and Phœnicians the religion, the arts, and the learning of the East.

Our excavations here have brought to light the ancient necropolis of the city. In it, we see revealed to us the arts, the faith, and the glory of this city during its various epochs.

The tombs are placed on various levels, and appear one above another. They embrace twenty-five centuries of civilization, of power, and misfortune. Among the objects found are vases of an oriental style, ornamented with figures and animals, resembling in some measure those recently discovered in Persia and Assyria, Egyptian scarabæi, painted vases, necklaces, and other ornaments of gold, all of the best style of art. We have identified the plan of the famous temple of Apollo, constructed, according to Virgil, by Dædalus; and we have excavated the celebrated gallery cut out of the bowels of the mountains, which led from Cuma to the Lake of Avernus, and which Strabo informs us was executed by the architect Cocceius, by order of M. Agrippa.

Near the amphitheatre of Cuma we have cleared away the earth and stones from about a temple, and found it to enclose several marble statues, among which there are two which are masterpieces of drapery, and which deserve a place beside the celebrated statue of Aristides from Herculaneum.

POZZUOLI.

This famous city, the principal of the empire after Rome and Capua, has preserved to us but few vestiges of its ancient greatness. One of the most important of these is the amphitheatre, a monument which excites universal wonder. Directions were given for its excavation, and we had the good fortune to restore it in great part to light, and to re-expose its substructions. These form, as it were, another and subterranean amphitheatre, in which they prepared and preserved everything that was necessary for the shows. There is no other example revealing to us this arrangement, excepting that of Capua, which is, however, inferior to it in many particulars.

A hundred Roman tombs have been discovered along the road leading from Pozzuoli to Capua. Among these were

found, besides many other objects, glass vessels of various colours, a circumstance before unknown. The tombs of the poorer classes have been discovered on the ancient road which led to Naples, near the Solfatara. A prodigious number of lamps, adorned with bas-reliefs copied from the most esteemed subjects of classic art, were found during this excavation.

CAPUA.

According to Mazzocchi, this city had a population of 300,000 souls, and it was the ancient metropolis of the Campania. Here have been brought to light some of its secret riches, which had escaped, as if by miracle, from the rapacious search of the Roman colonies under Cæsar. Among the tombs near the present railway were collected a great many painted vases of different periods of art. Together with these was found a small bronze statue, representing a figure with a tiara on its head, the costume of which, and style of art, announced an Asiatic character. This mysterious idol appears as though it had waited so many centuries to reveal to the present inhabitants of this country their ancient origin, and their early community of religion, commerce, and customs with the people of the East. In one corner of the subterranean constructions of the Campanian amphitheatre were discovered forty valuable gold coins, among which were some of Pertinax, Didia Clara, and various members of the family of Septimius Severus, but the greater number belong to Hadrian and the Antonines. Among the rarest were some of Marciana, Matidia, and Didius Julianus. Near these were found four other imperial coins, in the finest preservation.

ALIFEA.

In this city has been discovered a marble theatre, and two silver coins have lately been found, representing Pallas, and a bull with a man's head, with the legend *Alifea*, offering fresh materials for the imperfect history of this remote epoch. Other silver coins of Capua, with the legend *Sedicini*, and of Naples, with the effigy of a half-bull with a human head, and

the archaic epigraph, *Neepolis*, were also brought to light, being either perfectly unique, or known only in the magnificent collection of the Museo Santangelo. Some bronze coins were also found of Telesia, Pandosia, and Medma, all unedited; and Judge Riccio has added to our science by the discovery and publication of a Plautia in gold, restored by Trajan.

NAPLES.

On the decline of Cuma, Naples succeeded it as the seat of pleasure, of elegance, and art, being equally adapted to it by its climate, its Greek customs, its fertility and riches. The Romans flocked to it as to an Italian Athens. Lucullus chose his abode on the coast of Pausylipo, and lavished all the riches of Asia in executing those stupendous works which entitled him to the appellation of the Roman Xerxes. Here he collected together the masterpieces of genius and of art. A great portion of his villa has of late been discovered, equalling a city in its vast extent. A tragic theatre and an odeon have here been excavated and exposed to light; and a subterranean viaduct or grotto has been re-opened by command of his Majesty, which is higher and longer than that leading from Naples to Pozzuoli. Among the vestiges of the same villa was accidentally discovered an exquisite group of a Nereid, perhaps Leucothea, who, seated on a marine monster, hastens to offer arms to Achilles, or the girdle to the shipwrecked Ulysses. It combines the grace of ineffable delicacy and the boldness of genius, with the imposing character of sublimity; and it rivals the statues of Venus of Melos, the Venus of the Medicean gallery, or that of Syracuse.

HERCULANEUM.

It is singular that a city, whose name is scarcely revealed to us by ancient historians, should now be associated with our highest notions of ancient art. The masterpieces revealed to us from this sepult city have afforded us a new appreciation of the treasures of antiquity, and revealed to the present generation the state of science and civilization before the downfall of the Roman empire. By his Majesty's orders we have caused

a portion of the city to be excavated, consisting of habitations of no inconsiderable grandeur, though yielding in sumptuousness to the vast mansions of the ancient capital. An examination of the strata discloses to us in the most satisfactory manner, the history of the phenomena which buried this interesting city, and shows us with the clearest evidence, the alternations of lava, scoria, and ashes which overwhelmed the mansions of its miserable inhabitants.

POMPEII.

In the excavation of the Street of Tombs, in 1814, one single tomb and an adjoining villa escaped the notice of the workmen; these have since been exposed, and the excavation has revealed to us four columns of an unique character, being encased with a continued mosaic work of figures, friezes and arabesques. In the tomb was discovered a most beautiful glass vessel, of a blue colour, adorned with a white bas-relief, and only equalled by the celebrated Portland Vase of the British Museum.

The street which leads from the Temple of Fortune to the Gate of Isis, passing in a direct line from one extremity of the city to the other, has been re-opened within the last few years. The House of Cupid and Psyche, or, as better known, the House of the *Camera Nera*, the House of the Figured Capitals, the House of Ariadne, the House of the Chase, and the House of Danae and Perseus, enrich the arts and sciences, and adorn our museum with their frescoes, bronzes, and other works of art.

But the house which surpasses all others yet discovered, and which will, probably, be uneclipsed by any other, is that of the Faun, so called from a small bronze statue of a dancing faun, intoxicated with mirth and jollity, which occupied the centre of the Impluvium. This house also contained a wonderful effort of Greek genius, as skilfully copied by Roman art, a work which ought to decide the question, whether the ancients were as superior in painting as they were incomparable in the sister arts. The mosaic painting of the *Æcus* represents that immortal battle between the Greeks and the Persians, which

decided for ever the supremacy of Europe over Asia—of civilization over barbarism. In this grand mosaic we behold, for the first time, those Persians whose names and history occupy so prominent a part in ancient history. We look at them, astonished and enraptured at the gorgeous pomp, at the splendour of attire, and at the richness and luxury of which the East has ever been so proud. May this superb monument, which we have snatched from the ruined city, open to our country a new school of study and of glory; and may the remains of the awakened Pompeii recal incessantly to our contemporaries, and encircle with the same glory, the names of Pericles and Augustus, of Greece and Italy.

From March to June, 1847, the works were directed to the graceful and elegant little house, excavated under the direction of Mr. Falkener. Since that period to the present time, owing to the absorbing nature of political events, no further excavations have taken place, either in Pompeii or in any other portion of the kingdom.

NOCERA.

At this place we have discovered several small bronze statues, among which is one of Venus issuing from the bath. They were concealed and embedded in masonry, under the pavement of a house. They appear to have been placed there from a veneration of art and the *beau-ideal* which had inspired them, at a time when the worship of the divinities whom they represented had sunk together with the brilliant fictions of paganism.

PÆSTUM, FORMERLY POSIDONIA.

Posidonia, the descendant and ally of Sybaris, seems to have survived to our day in order that we might imagine to ourselves what were once the several cities of Magna Græcia. Repairing there in 1831, I perceived a fourth temple under the weeds and ruins, the capitals of which exhibited the perfection of the primitive Doric. The bas-reliefs of its frieze represented Jason and the Argonauts. In one part might be seen Jason killing the serpent, guardian of the golden fleece; in

another, Phryxus and Helle; then Hypsipyle, abandoned near the sea-shore. Castor, Hercules, Orpheus, and some marine deity, protector of the expedition, were also represented. I identified the porticoes of the ancient Agora in the centre of the city, and I found near the river Salso many tombs and several painted vases of great beauty; on the plaster of one of the tombs were painted some figures in a chariot, and a wounded warrior borne from the battle-field on a horse's back by a companion, or, more probably, from the public games.

MAGNA GRÆCIA.

There have been discovered in Magna Græcia, at different intervals, several treasures of ancient medals, each of which would have been considered an important acquisition, and which seem to have been struck in great quantities on some occasion of emergency. Many rare gold coins of Locris and of Syracuse have been found in terra cotta vases near the ancient *Medma*, now Rosarno. A year or two previously, there was discovered a similar depository at *Gerace* of most valuable silver tetradrachms of Pyrrhus, near the spot where there had formerly been dug up many thousand gold coins of Philip and of Alexander, pertaining, perhaps, to the money-chest of Alexander Molossus—uncle to Alexander the Great—who was defeated near Pandosia. These coins were cast instead of being struck—perhaps on account of the hurry occasioned by these times of turbulence and war, or, possibly, from want of an artist.

At *Cotrone* was found a vase containing many medals belonging to the finest epoch of art, among which were several that represented the head of Juno Lucina.

At the ancient *Siris*, now Policore, were found in a large bronze vessel two or three thousand silver medals of archaic type, of the value of from two to four drachmi each; the greater part from Metapontum, others from Cotrone, Caulonia, Sibaris, and a few from Tarentum, bearing the type of the hero on a dolphin. Two others have figures which are believed by

some to represent Apollo playing on the lyre and dancing at the festival of Zacynthus; others were of Laos, among which was the rare medal of a bull with a woman's head, protected by a helmet—others of the confederation between Pyxus and Siris; and, lastly, some from Pandosia. But more remarkable discoveries were effected at Messapia and Peucetia, and their vicinity,—now the territories of Lecce and Bari.

Montescaglioso, Pomarico, Pisticci, Ginosa, La Terza, Ostuni, Ceglie, Oria, Rizza, Motta, and Altramura have furnished us with innumerable tombs and fine painted vases of Puglia, with idols, arms and furniture of bronze, and ornaments of gold, silver, and other metals. At Castellaneta, whose territory is covered with the remains of upwards of thirty ancient Greek towns, have been found an extraordinary number of tombs, with vases and rhytons of the most beautiful forms and workmanship. At Putignano and at Ceglie, near Bari, were discovered some most exquisite vases, resembling those of Ruvo, and with a varnish similar to those of Nola.

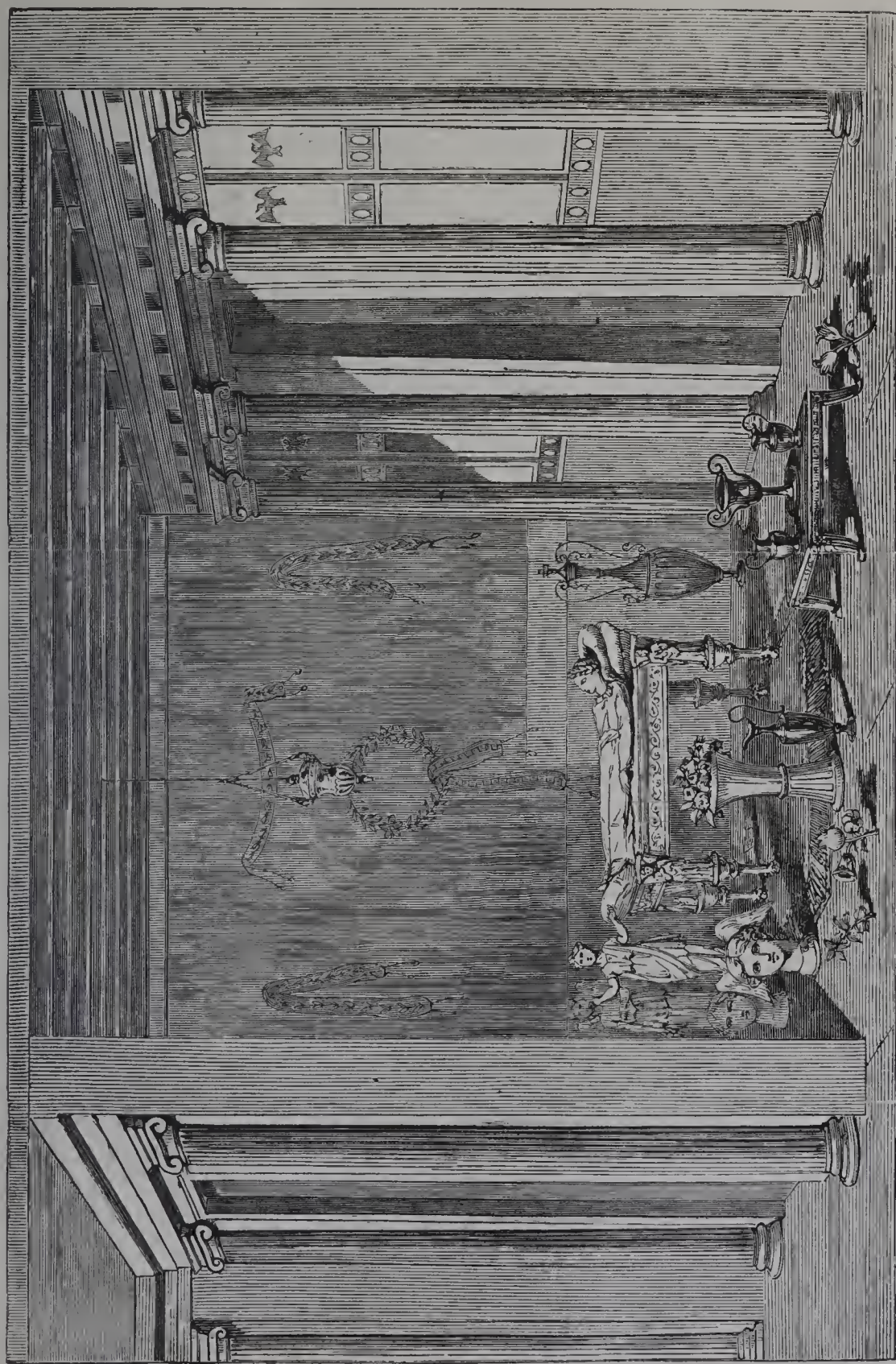
RUVO.

Ruvo has afforded us an archaic tomb, decorated with paintings, and containing many vases with black figures, the most admirable necklace yet discovered, fibulæ and pomegranates, besides some gold vases, or supports for glass vessels, of an azure blue colour. Above this was another tomb, which contained bronze horse-trappings, ornaments with the head of Medusa, small bronze vases, and utensils of every description. On the outside of some of these tombs were disposed along the front a row of elegant rhytons. Enormous vases, on which are represented the death of Archemorus and the battle of the Amazons; another with the Judgment of Paris, an immense quantity of gold objects, and, lastly, a vase and several square bas-reliefs, were found in a tomb excavated by private individuals, nearly the whole of which were purchased for the Museo Borbonico.

Subsequently, from 1836 to 1838, the government have con-



EXTERIOR OF A TOMB DISCOVERED AT CANOSA.



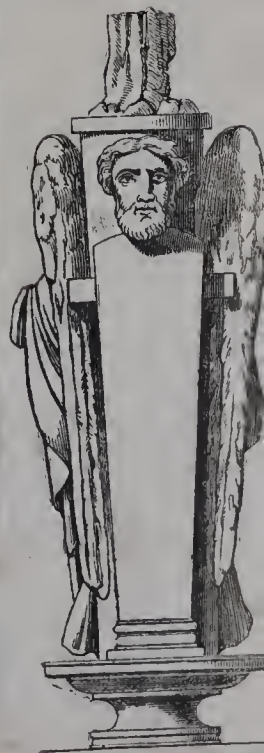
SECTIONAL VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF A GREEK TOMB, AT CANOSA.



TERRA-COTTA VASE, FROM THE TOMBS OF CANOSA.



CARVED IVORY ORNAMENT OF THE BRONZE BED FOUND AT CANOSA.



INTERESTING DISCOVERY OF GREEK TOMBS AT CANOSA.

(From a Correspondent at Naples.)

THE year 1853 will be remembered as a remarkable one in the annals of archaeological history, for having been singularly productive. Whilst the Cumæan excavations are daily increasing in interest, M. Bonucci, director of Herculaneum, invites attention to the Necropolis of Canusium, a City of the Dead,* erected during the best period of Greek art, and containing an amount of antiquarian treasure far surpassing anything yet discovered in the Magna Græcia. In 1847 M. Bonucci first visited Canosa by order of the Government; but, owing to political events, no official report of his labours was made at the time; and it is only within the last few weeks that he has presented his drawings, with observations thereon, and received orders to continue the excavations. To the portfolio of this gentleman I am indebted for the accompanying drawings, which show the complete furniture of one of the most important Greek Tombs yet discovered.

The shores of the Italian peninsula have ever attracted the peoples of all nations, from the Pelasgians to the Normans. The country, therefore, is crowded with monuments of every age—

The intelligible forms of ancient faith,
The fair humanities of old religion.

The resting-places of the dead, ever more or less respected, afford the largest amount of antiquarian treasure, and assist us in forming an idea of the manners, customs, and art of a people to whose inspirations we still turn for instruction. Canusium was in its glory about 400 years before Christ, a period remarkable in Greek history for its arts-excellence; and the objects found in the funeral mansions of this city fully bear out the fame of their age.

I have before me a ground-plan of the large tomb at Canosa. You enter a vestibule, which opens into nine surrounding apartments, intended to receive the members of a Royal family. The building is of tufa rock, and the chambers are all painted with red, black, and yellow fresco decorations of a panel character, simple, and subservient to architectural demands. In each of these chambers were found vases, glass vessels, carved ivory, terra cottas, &c.; and in one (the subject of illustration) the complete furniture of a Greek tomb. Before, however, proceeding to describe this chamber, it is necessary to observe that the building has evidently been entered by the Romans, and one chamber even used by a Roman lady; for we find written on the wall—MEDELLA. DASM. F. SITA. AN. D. III. KAL. JAN. . . . C. PISONE. M. ACILIO. . . . COS. The Romans entered the building by subterranean passages, and then broke into one room from the other; which accounts for some of the chambers containing so few objects, and showing evident signs of a rude intrusion. The exterior of this tomb is not yet excavated.

I must now explain the interior subject of illustration. All the objects were found just as they are placed, excepting the lamp, which had fallen. The body on the bed M. Benucci has thought proper to restore, together with the cushions, as the remains of drapery and some fragments of gold ornaments afforded material for so doing. The side walls of the chamber are illuminated with painted paneling, in red, black, and yellow, inter-rected by Ionic columns. The end wall is decorated with floral offerings, designed on a yellow ground. The roof is painted to represent beams. On the floor were found fragments of fine gold thread, probably from the robe of the Royal body which reposed in so much state magnificence. In the centre of the chamber is seen a *lectisternium* of bronze, with ivory decorations. At the four corners of the bed were represented the seasons, or hours, exquisitely carved in ivory. (See Drawing of one with the reverse; a curious conceit; which will be easily understood by the

antiquary.) On the right is an important painted vase, elegant in form, but not enriched with figures. At the foot of the head are two terracotta objects, remarkably interesting. They are only found at Canosa. I send you a drawing of one still more important, but not from this tomb, as an illustration of their beautiful conceits and forms.* In the foreground is a cornucopia, and an elegant bronze cup. Near is a dwarf bronze table, on which was found a glass dish of wonderful workmanship, being a mosaic of coloured glass and pieces of gold. Here, also, were some small cups; and scattered about were discovered fruits and flowers of painted terra cotta. Some of the objects here named are in the Royal Museum of Naples, but many of the treasures found at Canosa have been bought by private individuals, whilst others are hid away, the Government at the time of their discovery having almost neglected (owing, as I said before, to political events) the most important monument of Greek art yet known. Such, however, I am assured, will not take place in future, and the authorities are now employed in hunting out the lost and hidden treasures of this tomb.

The lower Illustration represents the façade of one of the Canosa tombs, not yet opened. They are built, and in some measure cut out, of the tufa or sand-stone which surrounds them. Such material being faced with a stucco, which was painted, as we see the buildings of Pompeii. But here we have colour used to magnify and contrast the parts of a building, and not simply to decorate.

M. Bonucci is preparing a very elaborate report of the Necropolis of Canosa; and ere long he will be again employed in uncovering those mansions of the dead, which illustrate the civilisation and art of a period which has claimed the respect and excited admiration in every succeeding age.

* For an account of the ancient Canusium, see Antonini's "La Lucania," and Mastriani's "Dizionario Storico-Geografico."

* M. Bonucci believes they are portraits, and the small heads and figures issuing therefrom are, in the first instance, the children; and, secondly, the genii, which are to accompany the soul to the Happy Islands. These terra-cottas are peculiar to Canosa, and present an endless variety of conceits.

tinued these researches, and opened two hundred other tombs, all equally rich in objects of art, embracing about three hundred painted vases. The tombs were of good Greek epoch, and chambers arched. The body of the deceased was placed in the middle, the larger vases arranged around, and the smaller vases and other objects hung up on the walls in one or two rows. One of the largest vases is usually found in a corner of the chamber, or at the head or feet of the body; the others, of various forms and qualities, disposed along the sides. Terra cotta figures are rarely found except in the tombs of children, being those which had served them in their infantile amusements. The tombs of noble individuals usually contain about forty to fifty vases and rhytons, and objects of furniture in great number and variety.

CANUSIUM.

The necropolis of Canusium, now Canosa, had one of its entrances decorated with Doric columns of robust proportions, with niches for statues, and with a second order of columns of the Ionic style. The streets of this city of the dead are flanked by the funereal mansions, composed each of several chambers, adorned with columns and frescoes, and containing objects of the highest interest. Among the most remarkable are terra cotta statues, and large heads with small figures grouped above,—which last are peculiar to this place,—alabaster vases, and some utensils adorned with ivory bas-reliefs, of wonderful style and execution. The skeletons are frequently found covered with garments embroidered with gold, the walls are decorated with rich hangings, interwoven in some parts with gold wire. Among the furniture of the tomb are plates, vases, lamps, and basins, all of glass, which, from their size and beauty of form, seem to dispute with the magnificent terra cotta vases and pateræ found also in the same city. These glass vessels are of so extraordinary a workmanship that we can scarcely imagine how they were executed. To form an idea of them, we should picture to ourselves the celebrated glass-ware of Murano, endued

with finer and more varied colours, with the decorations penetrating the entire thickness of the glass, and enclosing pieces of gold placed in it by an art now unknown, in the manner of a mosaic work of a new description.

EGNATIA.

Egnatia has furnished us abundantly with painted vases, especially with those delicate, elegant, and varied vases of small size. During the last year, we have had the fortune to obtain here various objects of ornament and furniture in gold, among which was a superb necklace adorned with hyacinths, two bracelets, a crown of laurel, and a garland of flowers, on which reposed insects and butterflies of a delicate and exquisite execution. In the deeper tombs of Egnatia, we find some of those vases called Egyptian, or Tyrrheno-Phœnician, which are coëval with the earliest colonization of Italy, which, commencing with this city and Cuma, formed as it were two points from which it spread over the rest of Italy, dispersing ignorance and barbarism.

Near the river Irno we discovered a marble statue of Bacchus; a Greek tomb at Sorrento; and a bas-relief at Capri, representing Tiberius Cæsar with a Nymph on horseback, curious from its historical interest, and from the novelty of the subject.

Future researches must now be directed to the investigation of the ancient Greek cities in the neighbourhood of Naples, and to those of Puglia. On these will be placed the hopes and the future prospects of science. The question whether Italy received its civilization from foreign lands, or whether, on the contrary, it was the means of imparting it to those nations, must be decided in these sites, where the Pelasgians arrived on the one side from Asia, and on the other from Epirus. A few palms of land cover their tombs and those of the earliest inhabitants of Italy. These oracles of the dead would be found more true than those of Tiresias evoked by Ulysses. We have only to raise these few inches of dust and ask them. They will answer us.

CARLO BONUCCI.

XXIV.

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

III.

ISTITUTO DI CORRESPONDENZA ARCHEOLOGICA DI ROMA.*

Annali (A), and *Bullettino* (B), 8vo. Rome, 1829-1850, vols. i.-xxi.

Monumenti Inediti (M), fol. Rome, 1829-1850, vols. i.-v.

A Catalogue of the Library in the year 1832 occurs in A. iv. p. x.-xxii.

And an Index to vols. i.-v. A. v. 369.

- Aquatraversa* (near Rome). Scavi. L. C. B. vi. 106
- Acqueducts*. Intorno varj Monumenti di Romani Acquedotti. AVV. CARLO FEA,
B. ii. 137
- Sull' editto acquario venafrano. . . . TH. MOMMSEN, B. xxii. 44
- Adeloon* (ant. Ornithopolis). Monumento di Sesostri a—, tra Tiro e Sidon.
Conte GIULIO DE BERTOU, B. x. 157. R. LEPSIUS, xii. 6. WIL.
ABEKEN, xii. 109.
- Ægina*. Notizie Topografiche sull' isola d'— SCHARNHORST, A. i. 201. Pianta
dell' isola, A. i. *tav. a*.
- Sopra il Tempio di— Barone di STACKELBERG, A. ii. 314
- Inscription (portant le nom) du Temple de Jupiter Panhellénien á—. A. i. 342
- Vases trouvées dans le Temple de Jupiter. Prince de CANINO, B. i. 113
Prof. GERHARD, 116. EMIL WOLFF, 122.
- Æzani*. Description d'— CH. TEXIER, B. vi. 238
- Agrigentum*. See *Maggiore*.
- Scavi nell' inverno del 1835-36 . . . WIL. KRAMER, B. viii. 97
- Nuovi Tempj, ed altre antichità di—. . . Duca di SERRADIFALCO,
B. viii. 129
- Temple de Castor et Pollux . . . B. viii. 50 }
——— Concorde 52 } V. BALTARD
——— d'Hercule 51 }
——— Prétendue Chapelle de Phalaris. . . . 51 }
- Alba Fucense*. See *Promis*.
- Albano*. Carta del Territorio di—. M. ii. 39
- Monumento degli Orazj e Curiazj. LUIGI CANINA, A. ix. 50. M. ii. 39
- Musaico del Ninfeo di—. W. ABEKEN, B. xiii. 47, 58
- Scavo d'un Teatro Dr. EMIL BRAUN, B. xxii. 74

* In giving a portion of the index of this important work, we feel called upon to qualify in some measure what we said of it in our preface. But though it contains much matter relating to the arts in general, the great object of the Society appears to be, the exploration of the tombs of Etruria and Magna Græcia; and, in accordance with this principle, we find one of its secretaries exclaiming—"L'archeologia potrebbe chiamarsi la scienza de' sepolcri."—*Bullettino*, xiii. 35.

- Athens. Parthenon.* Frammenti di Maschera della Testa di Minerva creduta appartenere al Frontone Occidentale del— DR. EMIL BRAUN, B. xxi. 170
 ——— Inscrizione contenente un Catalogo de' Tesori del— B. vii. 61
 ——— *Propylæa.* See *Polychromy.*
 ——— Scavi E. CURTIUS, B. xii. 68
 ——— Scoperta del Ingresso ai Propilei . . E. CURTIUS, B. xii. 135
 ——— *Tempio di Nike-Apteros.* Scavi WIL. KRAMER, B. vii. 113
 ——— L'addunanza de' Numi che accolgono Pallade. E. GERHARD, A. xiii. 61
 ——— Bassirilievi *tav. e.*
 ——— Le Temple de—, restauré par R. Kousmin, et décrit par Vincent Ballanti, fol. Rom. 1837. *Notice of—* By L. Canina, B. ix. 218
 ——— *Erechtheum.* Scala del— Dr. L. USSING, B. xviii. 178
 ——— Titulus ad ædem Minervæ Poliadis pertinens. LUDOLPHUS STEPHANI, A. xv. 286
 ——— Polychromia del— B. xiii. 171
 ——— *Theseum.* Spiegazione de' Monumenti sul Pronaos del— H. N. ULRICHs, A. xiii. 74
 ——— *Walls of.* Inscrizione riguardando il rinnovamento delle Mure di Atene, del Pirèo, e delle Mure Lunghe . . J. FRANZ, B. vii. 49
 ——— *and Port.* οἱ λιμένες καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὑπὸ ENP. OYAEPIXON, Δ. Φ. 8vo. Athens, 1843.
Notice of— By Dr. W. Henzen, B. xvi. 76.
 ——— *Theatre of Herodes Atticus.* Fouilles dans le —. A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, A. xxi. 161
Plans du Théâtre. *tav. f. g.*
 ——— *Thermæ.* Scavi dietro il Palazzo. Terme pubbliche con musaici. Dr. L. USSING, B. xviii. 178
 ——— *Lycée (?)*. Fouilles du— A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, xxii. 116, 131
 ——— Fouilles d'une ancienne Eglise sur l'Ilissus. A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, B. xxii. 164
 ——— Sur quelques Colounes Votives . . THEODORE PANOFKA, B. xviii. 109
 ——— Rendiconto de' Tessorieri di Atene B. vii. 60
Aurunca. Avanzi del antico— WIL. ABEKEN, A. xi. 199
Austria. Alterthümer in der Oesterreichischen Monarchie . . *Notice of,* B. v. 36
Autun. Mosaique d'— M. T. P. B. vi. 171
Avellino (F. M.). Opuscoli diversi di—. 8vo. Nap. 1833 . . *Notice of,* B. vi. 58
Baalbec. Notizie intorno il Tempio del Sole in—. GIUSEPPE RUSSEGGER, B. ix. 94
Balearic Islands. See *Majorca.*
Basilicata. Saggio sugli antichi avanzi della— . ANDREA LOMBARDI, B. ii. 17
Bassæ. See *Stackelberg.*
Belgium. See *Ettelbreck, Tongres.*
Bologna. Capitello quadrato d'un Tempio presso—GIROLAMO BIANCONI, B. iv. 108
Bolsenna. Scoperta d'una antica Camera dipinta . . STEFANO CAMILLI, B. x. 6
Bomarzo. Sepolcri E. G. B. iii. 85; S. CAMILLI, A. iv. 284, M. i. 42
Bonucci (Carlo). Grande Mosaique de Pompei, 8vo. Nap. 1833. *Notice of,* B. vi. 59
Bosco-tre-cose (near Pompeii). Scavi Conte di LEBZELTERN, B. iv. 12

- Boville* (near Rome). Avanzi di vasto Edificio, (Basilica?) VINCENZO COLONNA, B. x. 112
- Bröndsted.* Voyages et Recherches dans la Grèce *Notice of—By Ch. Lenormant*, A. ii. 285, 363
- Brescia.* Vestigie Romane . . . LISANDRO KAPTANGIOGLU, A. xi. 181, *tav. c.*
- Cære.* Osservazioni intorno alle *Tombe Etrusche* di— . . . A. vii. 177
- Carta topografica . . . M. ii. 19 } L. POLETTI
- Piante e spaccati di diverse Tombe . . . M. vi. 19 }
- Scavi. L. ULRICHS, B. xi. 65. W. KRAMER, 97. OTTO JAHN, xi. 17. GEO. DENNIS, xix. 54. L. CANINA xix. 97
- Descrizione di— antica, ed in particolare del Sepolcro scoperto nel 1836. L. Canina. 4to. Rom. 1838 . *Notice of—By E. Braun*, B. x. 169
- Sepolcro d'un stilo egizio . . . M. T. P. B. vii. 125
- Scoperta d'un ricco Sepolcro Etrusco . . . Dr. E. BRAUN, B. viii. 56
- Breve notizie sui Sepolcri recentemente scoperti L. CANINA, B. xvii. 224
- *Musaico* . . . B. xv. 74
- Vestigie di un *Teatro* . . . L. CANINA, B. xviii. 129
- Canino.* Scavi . . . EDWARD GERHARD, B. i. 49
- Canosa.* Scavi . . . CARLO BONUCCI, B. vi. 165
- Sepolcro a— . . . LOMBARDI, A. iv. 285. M. i. 43
- Capua.* Anfiteatro Campana . . . Principe di SANGIORGIO, B. ii. 182
- Carminello* (ant. Teglunum?). Near Pompeii— Antiche Abitazioni e dipinture. W. ZAHN, B. ix. 46
- Carthage.* Scoperte presso— . . . Sir THOMAS REID, B. ix. 47
- Scavi d'una bella *casa* sul gusto di Pompei . . . B. x. 76
- *Musaico* della Maschera colossale d'un Tritone . . . B. xxi. 153
- Caryatides.* De caussa nominis Caryatidum . . . Prof. L. PRELLER, A. xv. 396
- Carystos*, a monte Ocha. See *Ocha.* Antico Santuario, F. WELCKER, B. xiv. 169
- Castel d'Asso.* Sepolcri. . . F. ORIOLI, A. v. 18. M. i. 60
- Vallée de— . . . M. i. 60; Détails Achitectoniques, M. i. 43.
- Catania.* Scavi . . . G. CAN. ALESSI, B. v. 1
- Pitture antiche di una Camera in— . . . MALER, A. ix. 60
- Cefalù.* Avanzi di— . . . Rev. Dr. G. F. NOTT, A. iii. 270. M. i. 28, 29
- Cetona.* Scavo d'una grandissa Fabbrica . . . F. SOZZI, B. xv. 153
- Chiusi.* Scavi. B. i. 70. Cav. ANTONIO MAZZETTI, ii. 62; vi. 230. ED. GERHARD, iv. 195. Capt. FEDERICO SOZZI, iii. 99; iv. 52; ix. 197. P. G. FORCHHAMMER, iv. 37. BUNSEN, viii. 29.
- Sur les Fouilles de— . . . BUNSEN, viii. 33
- *Sepolcro* della Mensa Vescovile . . . Capt. F. SOZZI, B. xii. 2
- Ipogeo di Poggio Gajella . . . WIL. ABEKEN, A. xiii. 30
- Prof. ANSELM FEURBACH, B. xiii. 6; xiv. 102
- Le *Pitture* antiche di— (See *Fresco*). Rapporto del Consigliere KESTNER intorno le Pitture scoperte nel 1827 . . . A. i. 116
- Antiche Pitture nei Sepolcri di— . . . FRANCESCO INGHIRAMI, A. vii. 19
- Tomba dipinta scoperta da A. François nel 1846. E. BRAUN, A. xxii. 251
- Avanzi di Pitture in una tomba all' ouest di— . . . E. BRAUN, A. xxii. 280
- Rapporto su' Monumenti Chiusini . . . E. BRAUN, B. xii. 145
- Circus.* (See *Gymnastic*). Intorno alla tensa de' Ludi Circensi. C. CAVEDONI, B. xi. 12; E. BRAUN, A. xi. 238, *tav. n. o.*

- Cividale*, nel Friule. (Foro Giulio). Scavi. Canonico Conte MICHELE DELLA TORRE VALSAPINA, A. vii. 213.
- Civita Vecchia*. Scavi di Terme a S. Marinelli, 7m. da— Duchessa di SERMONELLA, B. x. i.; xii. 113; W. ABEKEN, xi. 85; GEO. DENNIS, xix. 52
 ——— Tombe a Monteroni, presso— . . . WIL. ABEKEN, B. xi. 81.
- Colonnes Votives*, surmontées d'animaux Votifs. Prof. LUDWIG ROSS, A. xiii. 25; TH. PANOFKA, B. xix. 109
- Corfu*. Musaico di Corcira W. HENZEN, B. xxi. 87
- Corneto*. See *Tarquini*.
- Coron*. Della città messenica di Corone, e di Scultura ivi trovate. E. CURTIUS, B. xiii. 43
- Cortona*. Grotta di Pittagora. W. ABEKEN, A. xiii. 30; Can. PASQUINI, B. vi. 197
 ——— Scavi del Sig. François B. xv. 49
- Crimea*. See *Kertsch*.
- Cross*. De la Croix ansée Egyptienne, imitée par les Chrétiens. LETRONNE, A. xv. 115
 ——— L'origine et la signification de la Croix ansée. FELIX LAJARD, A. xvii. 13
- Cuma*. Scoperta di tre Statue in un antico Tempietto a— CARLO BONUCCI, B. xi. 17
 ——— Scavo d'un Tempietto e d'un bel Sepolcro Romani. H. W. SCHULZ, B. xiv. 6
- Curtius*. Die Akropolis von Athen. 8vo. Berlin, 1844. Notice of, B. xvii. 5
- Cyclopean Remains* Lettres de M. PETIT RADEL, A. i. 345; vi. 350
 ——— *Walls* GERHARD, GELL, DODWELL, A. iii. 408
 ——— Atina, Bovianum, Luco, Via Salaria, Saturnia, and Norba, A. iii. *tav. e*.
 ——— Rusclæ, Cora, Isernia, Via Valeria A. iii. *tav. f*.
 ——— Terracina A. iii. *tav. g. h*.
- Cypress*. Du Cyprès pyramidale, considérée comme symbole ou attribut des Dieux en Orient et en Occident. FELIX LAJARD, A. xix. 36, *tav. b. c. d. e*. M. iv. 38
 ——— Culto del Cipresso C. CAVEDONI, B. xx. 169
- Delos*. Fouilles de l'Isle de— B. ii. 9
 ——— Reliquie dell' Altare eorneo di Apolline in— . . . Prof. OSANN, B. ix. 44
- Delphi*. Tombeaux de— T. L. DONALDSON, A. vii. 186, *tav. f*.
 ——— Monumens de— I. DE WITTE, A. xiii. 5
 ——— Plan de l'Isle ULRICH, A. xiii. *tav. a*.
- Dilettanti Soc*. Les Antiquités Inédits de l'Attique, traduit par M. Hittorff. Notice of—By Ch. Lenormant, A. iv. 245
- Doorways*. Ricerche sugli architettonici ritagli della porta del Tempio d'Iside a Pompei. F. M. AVELLINO, B. x. 59
- Eboli* (ant. Ebur, Mag. Græc.) Scavi. GIROLAMO MATTA, ed A. ROMANO, A. iv. 295
 ——— Antico Castello e Mura Ciclopee . . MATTA e ROMANO, B. viii. 102, 166
 ——— Ponte antico. MATTA e ROMANO, B. vi. 166
- Egypt*. See *Luxor*, *Rossellini*, *Thebes*.
 ——— *Researches*. BUNSEN, B. i. 97. Sir WILLIAM GELL, i. 100
 ——— Sur l'état actuel de nos Connaissances d'— A. vi. 87
 ——— Sopra i popoli strainieri introdotti nelle rappresentazioni storiche dei monumenti egiziana Col. WIL. MURE, A. viii. 333
 ——— Sur l'Ordre des Colonnes Piliers en Egypte. R. LEPSIUS A. ix. 65, *tav. f*. M. ii. 45

- Egypt.* Brevi cenni sull' Archit. Egiziana, ed in particolare sui varj generi delle colonne. D. Jefimoff, fol. Rom. 1838. *Notice of—*By L. C. B. x. 95
- *Pyramids.* Recherche sull' epoca, e sugli Autori delle Piramidi di Djizèh. BUNSEN, B. xi. 34
- Déconverte de trois nouvelles chambres dans la grande Pyramide Capt. HOWARD VYSE, B. ix. 121
- *Obelisks.* Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis (Romæ), per Aloysium M. Ungarellum, fol. R. 1842 . . *Notice of—*By A. M. Migliarini, A. xiv. 161
- Elæus* (Ville de l'Argolide). Topographie d' — . . . Prof. L. Ross, A. viii. 5
- Equicoli.* Ultime scoperte del Sig. Dodwell. . . . Sir W. GELL, B. iii. 43
- Etruria, &c.* See *Alba, Basilicata, Bolsenna, Bomarzo, Cære, Canino, Castel d'Asso, Cetona, Chiusi, Cividale, Corneto, Cortona, Fiesole, Luni, Equicoli, (Lydia,) Nola, Norba, Norchia, Orvieto, Perugia, Ponte della Badia, Populonia, Ruvo, Sabina, Sentino, Signia, Sovana, Tarquinii, Toscanella, Vespasia, Vetulonia, Volterra, Vulcia.*
- Restes des plus anciennes Villes de l'Italie Centrale. BUNSEN, A. vi. 35
- Scavi. E. GERHARD, B. i. 1
- Scoperte. GEORGE DENNIS, B. xvi. 91; xviii. 51, 92, 99
- Ettelbruck* (Belgium). Edificio antico. M. T. P., B. vi. 17
- Falerone* (Falerii). B. i. 57, 71
- *Theatre.* Notizie sullo scoprimento di un bel teatro in— Avv. DE MINICIS, B. viii. 131; A. xi. 5; Pianta e spaccato del Teatro, M. iii. 1; Scultura del Teatro, M. iii. 2.
- Fano.* Recherche ed Osservazioni sulla Porta di— . W. B. CLARKE, A. xiii. 116
- Fascinus.* See *Mal'occhio* B. xiii. 125
- Ferento.* Sull' antica Città di— L. CANINA, A. ix. 62
- Teatro di— Pianta del— . . LISANDRO KAPTANGIOGLU, A. xi. *tav. f.*
- Fermo.* (See *Falerone*). *Piscina Epuratoria* in— ACHILLE GENNARELLI, B. xi. 86; Avv. GAETANO DE MINICIS, A. xviii. 46; C. CAVEDONI, B. xix. 75; *Pianta*, M. iv. 25; *Spaccato*, M. iv. 26
- Fiesole.* Sul Fonte Etrusca nuovamente scoperta in— FRANCESCO INGHIRAMI, A. vii. 8; LEOPOLDO PASQUI, x. *tav. b.*
- Florence.* Catalogo di una parte dei Disegni Architectonici che si trovano inediti nella Galleria degli Uffizi a Firenze. . LISANDRO KAPTANGIOGLU, A. xi. 192
- France.* See *Arles, Autun, Lillebonne, Lisles, Margeaux, Morveau, Nerac, Nismes, Orbe, Orleans, Soissons, Toulouse.*
- Fresco.* See *Bolsenna, Catania, Etruria, Pompeii.*
- *Painting.* Cenni sull' affinità e la differenza tra la Pittura parietaria e la Ceramografia E. BRAUN, B. xviii. 179
- Pitture parietarie de Clusium E. BRAUN, B. xiii. 1
- Fucinus, Lacus.* Claudian Emissary. Le Lac Fucine et l'Emissaire de Claude. BUNSEN, A. vi. 24, *tav. a. b.*
- Scoperte. MASSARI, B. ii. 87; Avv. CARLO FEA, 86, 113
- Progetto della restaurazione dell' Emissario di Claudio del Commend. Carlo Alfon. de Rivera. 8vo. Nap. 1836 . . *Notice of—*By L. C. B. x. 94
- Gabii.* Antichi tempj di— WILLHELM ABEKEN, A. xii. 23, *tav. d.*
- Gerasa.* Ruines de— Comte J. DE BERTOU, B. ix. 164.
- Germany.* See *Gundershoffen and Heidenberg, Salzburg, Suabia, Trieste.*
- Giannutre, Isle* (ant. Dianium). Avanzi d'un Palazzo B. vi. 192
- Giugliano.* Scavi B. i. 86

- Glass.* Ueber die anfertigung und die Matzanwendung der farbigen Gläser bei den Alten, von E. C. di Minutoli, fol. Berlin, 1836. *Notice of*—By E. B. B. x. 29
- Gortyna.* (Crete.) Bas-relief de— . . . PH. LE BAS, A. xvii. 234; M. iv. 22
- Gozzo.* See *Malta*.
- Greece.* See *Ægina, Argos, Athens, Bassæ, Bröndsted, Coron, Delphi, Dilettanti, Elæus, Locri, Morea, Olympia, Pallantion, Peanie, Phigalia, Sellacia, Sicyon, Sparta, Stackelberg, Sunium, Xerocampo*.
- Viaggio nella Grecia . . . Lettera del WILLIAM MURE, A. x. 127
- Remarks on the Topography of Oropia and Diacria, with a Map. G. Finlay, 8vo. Ath. 1838 . . . *Notice of*, B. xi. 93
- Viaggio da Tebe a Chalkis ed Anthedon . . H. N. ULRICH, A. xviii. 5
- Greek Architecture.* Construction. Wooden dowels.—See *Sunium*.
- Brevi cenni sulla dissertazione esegetica degli Accademici Ercolanensi sull' origine e sistema della Sacra Architectura presso i Greci. fol. Nap. 1831. . . *Notice of*—By L. Canina, B. iv. 118
- Sur les Monumens figurés existant actuellement en Grèce. EDWARD GERHARD, A. ix. 103; Statues, 106; Bas-reliefs, 112; Terres-cuites, 132; Vases peints, 134; Bronzes et Scarabées, 141
- Gundershoffen.* Fouilles de— . . . L. SCHNOERINGER, B. vi. 40.
- Gymnastic Games.* Osservazioni intorno ai Giuochi Ginnici rappresentati sue Amfore Panatenaiche. W. AMBROSCI, A. v. 64; Corsa a piede, 66; Corsa de' cocchi, 71; Corsa a cavallo, 75; Della lotta, 76; Del Pancrazio, 83; Del Pentatlo, 84.
- Halicarnassus Mausoleum.* Bassirilievi nel Palazzo del Marchese di Negro di Genova . . . Dr. EMIL BRAUN, A. xxi. 74; xxii. 285; M. v. 1, 2, 3
- Bassirilievi in Londra. Dr. EMIL BRAUN, B. xxi. 142; A. xxii. 285; M. v. 18, 21
- Torso di Donna proveniente da— . . . B. xxi. 150
- Sur le Jupiter Pluteus d'— . . THEODORE PANOFKA, B. iv. 171
- Harbours.* See *Pyrgi, Terracina*.
- Intorno al miglior sistema di Costruzione de' Porti: Giuliano de Fazio, 4to. Nap. 1828. . . *Notice of*—By L. Canina. B. v. 28
- Heidenberg* (near Wiesbaden). Scavo d'un Castello Romano . . . B. xii. 165
- Herculaneum.* Scavi . CARLO BONUCCI, B. i. 65. 96; iii. 22, 27, 42; vi. 148
- Albergo pubblico . . . B. vii. 129
- Papiri Ercolanensi . . . B. ii. 111
- Hungary.* Antichità Romane— . . . ZIPSER DI NEUSOHL, B. vii. 136
- Hypathros.* See *Temple* . . . B. xiii. 169
- Irpini.* Sulla Topografia degli— . . . TH. MOMMSEN, B. xix. 161; xx. 4
- Inviolatella*, (6 m. della Porta Flaminia a Roma). Scavi. . . L. C. B. vi. 104
- Ipsambul.* Inscrizione d'— . . . Sir WILLIAM GELL, B. v. 131
- Italica* (Spain). Scavi . . . LUIS DE USOZ Y RIO, B. xi. 4
- Italy.* See *Amelia, Apuleia, Arezzo, Assisi, Aurunca, Bologna, Brescia, Capua, Civita Vecchia, Cuma, Etruria, Fano, Ferento, Fermo, Florence, Fucinus, Metapontum, Milan, Modena, Naples, Ostia, Pæstum, Parma, Piacenza, Pisa, Pyrgi, Rome, Terracina, Todi, Velleia, Venosa, Verona, Vicenza, Viterbo, Volaterrana*.

- Kertsch* (Crimea). Tre antichi Sepolcri B. i. 57
 ——— Scavi del Chersoneso Taurico KAREÏSCHA, B. vi. 234
 ——— Fouilles de— ALEXANDRE TOCHERTKOW, A. xii. 5
 ——— Ragguaglio sue Anticaglie trovate in—. Cav. GILLE, B. xvi. 82
Lampadario di Cortona WILLHELM ABEKEN, A. xiv. 53; M. iii. 41, 42
Laocoon. Sull' antichità del Gruppo del Laocoonte. F. G. WELCKER, B. xxi. 12.
 25, 43
Lares B. viii. 19
Lillebone (Juliabona). Notice sur le Théâtre antique de— CH. LENORMANT,
 A. ii. 51, *tav. c.*
Lisles. Scavo di un Edifizio importante M. T. P. B. vi. 171
Locri. Ruines de— Duc de LUYNES, A. ii. 1. Plan de— F. DEBACQ, M. i. 15
Luni. See *Promis*.
Luxor. Sopra l'Obelisco di Luqsor a Parigi. C. BUNSEN, A. v. 299; ACERBI,
 301; IPPOLLITO ROSELLINI, 303
Luynes (Duc de— et F. J. Debacq.) Metaponte. Notice of—By Ch. Lenormant,
 A. v. 292
Lycia. Remarks on some Inscriptions found in— . Dr. G. F. Grotefend, Lond.
 1832 Notice of, F. B. viii. 44
Lydia. Analogia de' Monumento Lidj, con quei d'Etruria. B. xv. 74
Majorca e Minorca. Monumenti di— I. Talajots. Col. ALB. DELLA MARMORA,
 B. vi. 68
Maggiore (Niccolò). Opuscoli Archeologici, 8vo. Pal. 1834. Notice of—By L. C.
 B. viii. 62
Mal'occhio. B. viii. 19
Malta. Monumens de l'Isle de— J. DE WITTE, B. xiv. 42
 ——— Scoperta di Caverne, 6 m. della Valetta. B. xii. 87
 ——— Della Torre de' Giganti sull' Isola di Gozzo presso. Archdeacon FROUDE,
 B. v. 85.
Marcellina (near Rome). Avvanzi di un' antica Villa . . L. CANINA, B. x. 50
Margeaux (près de Puy). Resti d'un antico Tempio Romano B. ix. 47
Marino (near Rome). Scoperta di un Musaico. B. x. 12
Marviedro (ant. Saguntum).
Mediterranean. See *Balearic*, *Corfu*, *Crete* (*Gortyna*), *Delos*, *Majorca*, *Malta*, *Milos*,
Sardinia, *Thera*.
Metapontum. See *Luynes*.
Micali. Storia degli antichi Popoli Italiani. 8vo. Flor. 1832. Notice of, B. vi. 180
Milan. Vestigie Romane. H. W. SCHULZ, A. xi. 181
 ——— Colonne di S. Lorenzo in— B. ii. 140.
Miletus. Le Géant de Milet. J. DE WITTE, A. vi. 343
Milos. Inscriptions de l'Odéum de— CH. LENORMANT, TH. PANOFKA, A. i. 343
Military Ways. Strade Militari. F. N. DE WOLFARTH, A. xiii. 40.
 ——— *Insignia*. Di un Monumento Romano, con falcre ed altre distinzioni
 militare. C. CAVEDONI, A. xviii. 119, *tav. d.*
Modena. Solignano presso— Scavi. Musaici. . . CEL. CAVEDONI, B. iv. 163
Monteroni. See *Civita Vecchia*.

- Morea.* Expédition Scientifique de—. Architecture. *Notice of—* By Ch. Lenormant, A. iv. 178
- Morvau* (Départ. de la Nièvre). Fouilles d'une ancienne Villa. J. DE WITTE, B. xiv. 113
- Mosaic.* See *Albano, Autun, Bonucci, Carthage, Cære, Corfu, Marino, Orbe, Piacenza, Pontenure, Populonia, Rome, Salzburg, Sentino, Terracina, Tivoli, Toulouse.*
- Musaico.* Marefaschi. Dr. EMIL BRAUN, A. xx. 198
 ——— Con ritratti di sette sapienti della Grecia, trovato in Prussia. LERSCH, B. xix. 89
- Nahr-el-Kelb.* Monumento di Sesostris, presso Beiroot. BUNSEN, B. vi. 30, vii. 20; F. LAYARD, vi. 151, vii. 23, ix. 135; Sir WIL. GELL, vi. 155; Capt. COLLIER, vii. 25; R. LEPSIUS, ix. 134, A. x. 12, M. ii. 51; HENRI GUYS, B. ix. 138; Rev. Padre M. RYLLO, ix. 145, x. 154; Comte J. DE BERTOU, ix. 147.
- Naples.* See *Canosa, Eboli, Pausilypo, Pompeii.*
 ——— Casa antica di due Piane disotterata. C. BONUCCI, B. i. 69; F. M. AVELLINO, B. ii. 161
 ——— Museum. Guide pour la Gallerie des Peintures Anciennes, par le Chanoine De Jorio. 8vo. Nap. 1830 . *Notice of—* By E. G. B. iii. 203
- Nerac* (France). Fouilles de— L. VITET, A. v. 327
- Nettuno* (near Rome). Antichi Ruderi presso— CARLO FEA, B. iii. 145; L. C. vi. 106
- Niobe.* La strage dei Niobidi E. BRAUN, B. xx. 68, 87
 ——— Figura di—, sul monte Sipilo. B. xv. 64, 65; Padre SECCHI, B. xv. 65
 ——— Groupe de la Famille de— trouvée à Soissons. CH. LENORMANT, B. iv. 145; J. DE BREUVERY, v. 105
- Nismes.* Fouilles faites au-devant du Temple de Diane. AUGUSTE PELET, A. vii. 195. Plan des Fouilles, *tav. g.*
- Nola.* Fouilles de— THEODORE PANOFKA, B. i. 18
- Norba.* Porte e Pianta di— ED. GERHARD, A. i. 60; M. i. 1, 2
- Norchia.* Notizie preliminari, F. ORIOLI, A. v. 18; Nekropolis, 27; Sui dui principali Fasciate, o Frontoni, 52.
 ——— Tombeaux de— ALBERT LENOIR, A. iv. 289; M. i. 48
 ——— Osservazioni sui Monumenti di—. Dr. ULRICH, B. xi. 43; E. G. iii. 83, 89
- Obelisks.* See *Rome, Luxor.*
 ——— Sugli Obelisch di Roma. L. M. UNGARELLI, B. vi. 159
- Ocha.* See *Carystos.* Tempio di Giunone sul Monte—, vicino a Carystos. Prof. H. N. ULRICH, A. xiv. 5; M. iii. 37
- Olevano* (Dintorni di Roma). Antiche Mure e Monumenti. WIL. ABEKEN, B. xiii. 49
- Olympia.* Sculptures d—. CH. LENORMANT, B. iv. 17; A. BLOUET, A. iv. 212
 ——— Bassirilievi di— CH. BUNSEN, B. iv. 28
 ——— La Nascita di Venere sulla base del Giove Fidiaco. H. BRUNN, B. xxi. 74

- Oplonte* (near Pompeii). Case Antiche. CARLO BONUCCI, B. vi. 145
- Ornaments*. Sepulchral—. Osservazioni sopra alcuni Ornamenti rappresentati di preferenza dagli antichi sui Monumenti Funebri, e particolarmente nell' adornare il bel Sarcofago di Bomarzo. A. M. MIGLIARINI, A. xv. 367, *tav. m. n. o.*; B. xvii. 203; C. CAVEDONI, B. xvii. 32; E. GERHARD, B. xvii. 204.
- Orbe* (Canton de Vaud). Musaici. Baron de BONSTETTEN, B. xix. 52
- Orleans*. Fouilles de—. C. F. VERGNAUD ROMAGNESI, B. vi. 167
- Orvieto*. Antichità di—. C. BUNSEN, B. v. 93
- Sepolcri LODOVICO GUALTERIO, B. iii. 33; iv. 216
- Ostia*. Scavi PIETRO CAMPANA, B. vi. 120
- Pæstum*. Scavo d'una lunga colonnata C. BONUCCI, B. i. 68; vi. 50
- Scavi del Foro C. BONUCCI, B. vi. 50
- Intorno un quarto Tempio di—. Cav. PIETRO BIANCHI, B. ii. 226
- Templo Romano di—. EMIL WOLFF, B. ii. 135
- Palermo*. Sepolcri di recente scoperti in— Duca di SERRADIFALCO, B. vi. 209
- Palladio*. Drawings by— in the Basilica at Verona L. K., A. xi. 185
- Pallantion*—et le Temple d'Athena Soteira L. ROSS, A. viii. 10
- Pandosia*. Recherches sur la ville de—. Duc de LUYNES, A. v. 5; M. i. 49
- Parasites* B. xiv. 11
- Parma*. Ruine di Antico Edificio MICHELE LOPEZ, B. xiv. 148
- Scavo del Teatro Antico B. xvi. 168
- Lettere intorno alle rovine di un Antico Teatro scoperto in—, M. Lopez, 8vo. Paris, 1844 Notice of—By E. B. B. xvii. 54
- Pausilypo*. Villa di Lucullo. Scavo pel Cav. Gugl. Becchi. EMIL WOLFF, B. x. 132; H. W. SCHULZE, xiii. 159
- Grotta di—, disotterata H. W. SCHULZE, B. xiii. 147
- Péanie* (dans l'Attique). Sur le Démos de—. L. ROSS, A. ix. 5
- Pericles*. Busto di—, della Villa Albani E. BRAUN, B. xxi. 97
- Perugia*. Antica Fabbrica detta Tempio di S. Manno F. SPERONI, B. vi. 191
- Sepolcro dei Volunni, scoperto nel Feb. del 1840. Gio. Bat. Vermiglioli, 4to, Perugia, 1840 Notice of—By A. Genarelli, B. xiii. 12
- Sepolcro dei Volunni. SERVANZI-COLLIO e Prof. FEURBACH, B. xii. 116
- Sepolcri SERVANZI-COLLIO, B. xv. 17
- Pessinuntum*. Découverte de—, par M. Ch. Texier B. vi. 240
- Phigalia*. Intorno un Colosso di Apolline, trasportato di Figalia in Megalopoli, B. xviii. 109
- Piacenza*. Musaici di Pontenure presso—. M. LOPEZ, B. v. 158
- Pisa*. Bassorilievo Greco in Campo Santo IPPOLITO ROSELLINI, A. vi. 236
- Sulla Necropoli di—, antica A. FRANÇOIS, B. xxi. 22
- Pittura Antica*. Alfeo che raggiunge Arctusa. Pittura trovata a S. Martino ai Monti. E. BRAUN, A. xi. 229; M. iii. 9
- Polychromy*. See *Athens* (Erechtheum and Propylæa); *Tarquinii*.
- Système d'Architecture Polychrôme, fondée sur les Vestiges du Temple de Concorde à Agrigentum V. BALTARD, B. ix. 49
- Disotteramento dei propilei in Atene. L. ROSS, B. ix. 45

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. IV. — OCTOBER, 1851.

XXV.

ON THE BUILDING ACT OF THE EMPEROR ZENO:
BEING THE POLICE REGULATION OR LAW OF THE EMPEROR ZENO,
ON THE CONSTRUCTION AND DISPOSITION OF PRIVATE
HOUSES IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

By H. E. DIRKSEN.

Read at the Academy of Sciences, (Berlin,) on the 8th February, 1844.*

Translated by
W. R. HAMILTON, Esq., F.R.S.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, BY THE SAME, A TRANSLATION OF SEVERAL IMPERIAL LAWS
RELATING TO THAT SUBJECT, AND ENACTED DURING THE THIRD AND
THREE FOLLOWING CENTURIES OF OUR ÆRA.

ONE of the most remarkable documents in the collection of Justinian's Constitutions is an ordinance of the Emperor Zeno,† originally promulgated in the Greek language, and containing regulations respecting the building of private houses. This ordinance not only treats generally and largely on the relative elevations and distances of contiguous private buildings in Constantinople, but also on the liberty allowed, in case of a friendly understanding amongst individuals having a common interest therein, to arrange the exterior architectural plan of their residences according to their own convenience. At the same

* *Das Polizei-Gesetz des Kaisers Zeno, über die bauliche Anlage der Privathäuser in Constantinopel*, von HRN. H. E. DIRKSEN, (abhandlungen der König. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1844, p. 81).

† Zeno reigned from A.D. 474 to A.D. 491. Justinian reigned from A.D. 527 to A.D. 565.

time, there is scarcely any other existing monument of the Roman constitutional law, of which it can be said, on such good grounds, that the decree of the legislator, though known to exist, was so little appreciated in respect to its real character, its purport, or its contents. Some few preliminary observations may be acceptable on the cause of this remarkable circumstance.

The codex of Justinian contains, in separate and distinct sections, the laws which relate to private buildings,¹ and those which were enacted to regulate public works.² And although, amongst the documents which still exist of the collection of the Constitutions of Theodosius,* we have that section only which treats of the last-mentioned division, namely, the public works,³ it can scarcely admit of a doubt that a section relating to the law of private houses did also exist in the Constitutions of Theodosius, and that it served as a model for the system compiled under Justinian. The collection of the laws of Burgundy, for Roman citizens, cites indeed, a special title of this description, though not with perfect official accuracy, from the codex of the Constitutions of Theodosius:⁴ and we find in the corresponding title of Justinian's collection several laws of Constantine and his successors, the greater part of which appear to have been formed out of this supposed lost section of the Theodosian codex ;⁵ though we may fairly conclude, from the corresponding section of the Constitutions of Justinian, that the Theodosian codex did not contain any very comprehensive enactments on the subject of domestic architecture; for such of the regulations as are contained in the Constitutions of Justinian, corresponding in order of time with those in the Theodosian codex, simply relate to some insulated and unimportant objects of municipal building law. . On the other hand, at the conclusion of this same title relating to private buildings, we find a law, subsequent to the reign of Theodosius, which, notwithstanding its originally merely local application, is par-

* Theodosius reigned from A.D. 379 to A.D. 395.

ticularly worthy of attention as a building police regulation, or building act as it may be called, remarkable for the important information which it gives us, and for the distinctness with which its details are carried out;—this is the ordinance of the Emperor Zeno, which is described as an Instruction to the prefect of the City of Constantinople;⁶ and which, as a municipal or civil law of a place inhabited by Greeks, is drawn up in the Greek tongue.⁷ Justinian himself declares this ordinance to be the most important and comprehensive of all the regulations on the subject, and he made it a common and general law of the empire.⁸ Consequently, in this redaction of the codex of the Constitutions, the corresponding ordinance of the Emperor Leo I.,* as well as an earlier law of the Emperor Zeno on the same subject, were effectually superseded, as mere essays on the subject, and comparatively useless and insignificant, although the law of Zeno, of which we are now speaking, expressly refers to them as precedents.⁹ And whilst Justinian thought it expedient to enact, by a special law,¹⁰ that this later regulation of the Emperor Zeno should become, from a simple civic decree, an universal law of the empire, he was not induced to add anything to it. However, some years after, to prevent misunderstandings and evasions, he did make another special law on the subject, but merely as a supplement or appendix to that of Zeno.¹¹

In the collection of Justinian's Constitutions, this building law of Zeno was preserved in its original Greek text, whilst the copies of the collection made in the Western Empire omitted altogether the Greek text, without substituting anything in its place; and when the Latin version was annexed to the Greek text, the contents of Zeno's ordinance were merely referred to, and the document itself was necessarily lost sight of, and was only recovered by a series of circumstances, which are not without their importance in estimating the value and

* Leo I. reigned from 457 to 474.

genuineness of the existing text. A short description of these circumstances, though they have already been sufficiently explained by other commentators,¹² will not be out of place here.

The complete original text of Zeno's law was first brought to light in manuscripts of the Greek *Novellæ* of Justinian:¹³ it was given to the public in connection with them,¹⁴ and it thus gradually passed into the several editions of the codex of Justinian's Constitutions. In the collections of Roman laws subsequent to those of Justinian, we meet with the same text in a great variety of forms.¹⁵ In the Bodleian Manuscript of a collection, composed of various fragments of laws, relating to profane as well as to ecclesiastical subjects, subsequent to Justinian, this text is given quite perfect, at least for the first half, reaching to the conclusion of sec. 5.¹⁶ The other known collections give only extracts of this text, from first, second, or even third-hand authorities, as it may happen. Of the former class of authorities are the *Prochiron*, and the *Synopsis* of the *Basilica*, of the Emperors Basil I., Leo VI., and Constantine VII.,¹⁷ (867-959), from which last the portion of the original text, which is imperfect in this section, is completed in the editions of the *Basilica*.¹⁸ The publications of Constantine Harmenopulus¹⁹ upon this subject must be referred to the other class of authorities. These last are said to be memoranda, or notes, compiled by an architect of Ascalon, of the name of Julianus, from the edicts of the prefects.²⁰ The contents are a medley of the most varied description; for they not only treat of the local rights or laws of single individual districts,²¹ but references are also made in them at one and the same time to the *Responsa* of Papinian, and to the laws of Zeno;²² at times, also, expressions of the classic writers on the science of building seem to have been present to the memory of the architect-compiler.²³

We can no longer say, with certainty, to what extent the original text of the *Basilica* contained the whole of Zeno's law; but we may presume that the compilers of the *Basilica* must

have especially had in view that part of the law (sec. 6, c. xii. 1) which referred to the public piazzas or squares of Constantinople, without regard to the rest of the law, or to the next following section, which treated of the public buildings; for in the Synopsis²⁴ of the Basilica we actually find the same separation of subjects; and this explains the remarkable circumstance, that the insertion of the complete text of Zeno's ordinance in the Bodleian MS. is only continued to the close of the fifth section.²⁵

On the other hand, we have no reason to doubt the fact, that the compilers of the collection of the Constitutions of Justinian admitted into the section on private buildings the text of Zeno's ordinance in as perfect and as connected a state, as that in which it was originally published from the manuscripts of Justinian's Novellæ, and as it was afterwards, for the more complete restoration of that law, transferred to the editions of the codex of Constitutions. It has recently been supposed by a learned writer,²⁶ well versed in this branch of documentary knowledge, that the whole contents of Zeno's ordinance as they appear in the *Constitutio Restituta* of this emperor, and as they must, in all probability, have been preserved in the collections of prefects' edicts, can scarcely have been admitted into the collection of Justinian's Constitutions; as the compilers of these last would naturally have thought that a mere extract of its most important principles would be fitter for their purpose. This view of the matter, though its consequences are not quite free from contradictions,²⁷ has, nevertheless, received the approbation of some high authorities.²⁸ But the argument adduced in support of it is more specious than demonstrative. It is assumed that Justinian's compilers could not have considered themselves justified in collecting, besides his own laws, those also of his predecessors without abridgment, when they saw that this abridgment was, in fact, quite as detailed as the full ordinance of Zeno itself; nor is the other plea thought to be without due importance, namely, that Zeno's law could scarcely have been admitted into the copies of the collection of the Greek text of Justinian's

Novellæ, if such law was already given at full length in the codex of the Constitutions. In this course of argument it has, however, been entirely overlooked that Justinian did, by an express law,²⁹ appropriate to himself the ordinance of Zeno, when he gave to what was before a mere local regulation the higher character of a general law of the empire. In this fact, we see the implied instruction to the compilers of the codex of his constitutions, to distinguish Zeno's ordinance from all similar ordinances of Justinian's predecessors, by the full and entire admission of it into the collection. In his Novellæ, also,³⁰ Justinian again refers to this same municipal building-law of Zeno, and he makes one insulated point of it the object of a declaratory enactment. Seeing, then, that this declaration of Zeno's ordinance is mentioned with distinction in the edicts of the prætors,³¹ as well as in the extracts from the text of Justinian's Novellæ,³² it was natural enough for the collectors and copyists of the *Greek* text of the Novellæ also to admit the whole of Zeno's law in its Greek version, although it was also to be found in the codex of Justinian's Constitutions. It may at least be stated with great probability, that the text of this law would have been preserved in a much more perfect state in the edicts of the prætors, than in the collections of Justinian. The remains of the eparchica of this period prove, without exception, the endeavours which were made to give merely a compendium of the many and varied contents of a legal document of the nature of Zeno's ordinance; not, indeed, to do even this continuously, but in detached parts, according to the subjects, and arranged under separate heads or rubrics; nor, indeed, are the extracts strictly confined to the original contents of the document, but mixed up with additions from a later system of legislation.³³

The foregoing explanations on the position held by Zeno's building ordinance in the body of laws compiled by Justinian, as well as on the manner in which it has been transposed from its original text, may account for the remarkable appear-

ances which the treatment of the text presents to us on the part of the commentators on the Roman laws. We need only here refer to one important point in Justinian's enactments.³⁴ That emperor laid it down in express terms,³⁵ that every doubt, (whether Zeno's law was valid outside also of Constantinople, and was to be preferred to the older and nearly obsolete law on the same subject,) should at once be set aside, and that it should be considered as of universal obligation. It is only in the later declaratory regulation³⁶ that it is mentioned by way of note or supplement, that the distinct enactment of Zeno's ordinance against the shutting out of the view of the sea by a neighbour's house was only to have effect in Constantinople: a point which is also especially brought forward in the collection of laws³⁷ subsequent to Justinian. The commentators have not hesitated to view the whole of Zeno's law as Justinian did, namely, as a summary of many single ones of general import, and to distinguish permanent enactments from those of merely local application. But as, according to this method of interpretation, the law in question must remain a closed book to every one, it is no wonder that the *literatur* (or series of commentaries upon this Constitution,)³⁸ has little else to show than fruitless attempts to approach to the understanding of some peculiarities contained in it of small importance;³⁹ whilst either nothing at all is said of the import of the entire document,⁴⁰ or, if anything, very insufficiently.⁴¹

Against this mode of interpretation, the most effectual remedy would be, entirely to separate Zeno's law from the legislation of Justinian, and to comment upon it independently of everything else. The direction which should be given to such an inquiry is sufficiently pointed out by certain expressions in the law itself. Zeno, for example, expressly designates his own ordinance as the development or complement of an older ordinance for Constantinople only, enacted by his immediate predecessors. He enlarges especially on the dispositions which refer exclusively to the locality of that capital, and he describes

several of the building arrangements there in use as dependent on the peculiar locality; whilst at the same time he is considered to allude to a mixture of the Greek and Roman style of architecture prevalent in the city. It then becomes the province of the expositor of our law, who would carefully keep in view the object of its author, to place in a just and proper light, first, the course of events which brought about the chief building law, with its relation to other corresponding ordinances of the Roman emperors; and, secondly, he should specially bring forward those peculiarities of Zeno's regulations, which refer exclusively to the local circumstances of the capital of the Byzantine empire, or which were at least produced by them.

I.

In the preamble of his law, Zeno premises that both of his own judgment, and in consequence of the reports of the prefects of the city, to whom the ordinance is directed, he is about to publish a comprehensive and general regulation for the building police of the capital of the empire, with the view of putting an end to the various doubts which had arisen in carrying out the corresponding ordinance of his predecessor Leo; and at the same time to combine and complete the separate dispositions of his own earlier enactment on the same subject. The enacting portion of the law itself is in accordance with this preamble; and whilst the two older regulations of Leo I. on building police are repealed by it, those of Zeno are described as still in force; and we are told that the present ordinance is mainly intended to form a comprehensive and declaratory supplement to them;⁴² nor is it any contradiction to these premises, that such earlier laws of Leo and Zeno were not admitted into the collection of Justinian's Constitutions; the only conclusion to be drawn from this fact⁴³ is, that Justinian, after having admitted into his codex the unabridged text of the most recent declaratory regulations of Zeno, thought it would be quite superfluous to adopt also

that which Zeno himself had described as imperfect in its contents, and obscure in expression. There is another point, too, which Zeno has mooted in the Introduction, which deserves notice. The emperor assures the reader that he has taken pains to avoid all strictly legal or forensic expressions in the text of this declaration, and, by the substitution of descriptions intelligible to all, to make it easy for every one to understand of himself the meaning of the several legal formulæ, without having recourse to the instruction of a technical expositor or commentator. Hence we may infer, that a good knowledge of the locality, to which the regulation in question was limited, was of no less importance for the meaning of the terms, than for the understanding of its contents. If now we compare with this the language of Justinian, who, in the explanation he has left us⁴⁴ in reference to the extended validity of Zeno's law over the whole Roman empire, has described this very law as a *constitutio, quæ de servitutibus loquitur*, we shall be convinced, not only that the choice of this technical and forensic expression has deranged the historical point of view, which would have enabled us to understand and to appreciate Zeno's plan,⁴⁵ but also that even the contemporaries of Justinian could not possibly have derived from it any useful information towards understanding the practical bearing and meaning of the whole regulation.

With a view, then, to make a nearer approach to the understanding of the separate enactments of Zeno's ordinance for subjecting buildings to some public rules of police, we must show how the occasion for the law itself was connected with the history of the origin and the aggrandisement of the capital of the Byzantine empire. The official designation (*felicissima urbs*), which Byzantium bore from its new or second foundation by Constantine, was perfectly well suited to its very favourable geographical position,⁴⁶ however inappropriate the term might appear to the frequent visitations to which it was exposed, of earthquakes and conflagrations, by which the ancient city of Constantinople suffered quite as much as its modern successor.⁴⁷

The immediate causes of these destructive fires, and of the devastations which were produced by them, as well as by the earthquakes, were decidedly increased by the peculiar mode in which the city was built; for, in a proportionately cramped space, it contained the largest number of human abodes which it was possible to crowd within it. From the time of the earliest colonists of Byzantium, they had been obliged, in consequence of the plundering inroads of the Thracians, to confine themselves, in laying out the plans of their buildings, to those spots of a territory intersected and occupied by heights of very unequal elevation, which could be most readily fortified against hostile aggressions.⁴⁸ The public works, by which the emperors Hadrian and Septimius Severus secured to themselves the gratitude of the Byzantines, had not for their object the extension of the city, but exclusively the supplying it with aqueducts, baths, and other constructions of public utility.⁴⁹ Constantine, on the contrary, had in view both the one object and the other. He made room for a larger population, which would necessarily be drawn thither by the removal of the imperial residence, whilst he threw farther out the defensive bulwarks of the city.⁵⁰ This operation must have been frequently repeated under his successors.⁵¹ We are informed by the historian Zosimus,⁵² that neither Constantine himself nor the succeeding emperors were ever able to provide sufficient room for the central parts, the heart, as it were, of the city, such as was required for the wants of public trade and traffic and for the accommodation of the inhabitants. "Look," he says, "at the buildings crowded together in narrow rows; and where the ground is insufficient for building room, attempts are perpetually being made to gain it from the sea by expensive constructions upon piles. The streets are no less confined than the open spaces within the dwelling-houses, so that the inhabitants feel themselves almost as uncomfortable in their own houses, as when out of doors in the immense press and crowd of persons who are continually passing along the streets."⁵³ We are presented with a similar

picture of the city in Agathias' description of the great earthquake which visited Byzantium in 557. He says,⁵⁴ that immediately on the first shock, notwithstanding the cold of the season and the hour of night, the whole population rushed into the streets and squares. But the open air, within the walls of the city, gave no greater security than if they had remained in their own homes; for those lofty buildings ranged close alongside to each other, in the event of their being thrown down, would have hastened the inevitable fate of the crowds of persons wedged together in endless confusion all along the narrow streets. With this, also, is connected the fact, that when larger public buildings were to be newly built up in Constantinople, as, for example, the construction of the church of St. Sophia under Justinian, the requisite space could only be found by the expensive purchase of many adjoining private houses.⁵⁵

A system of construction so defective converted the capital of the Byzantine empire into a focus of the most calamitous conflagrations, and in a much greater degree than was ever the case with Rome. This also enables us to understand how the measures ordained by the legislative enactments, which were regularly called forth on the occasion of every great conflagration in the imperial residence, were attended with very unsatisfactory results, on account of the peculiar difficulties presented by the situation of the city; or because, when the danger was over, the force of circumstances either led to evasions of the law, or induced the government to make concessions.

The two ordinances of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, which were addressed in 406 to Æmilianus, the prætor of the city, and which are expressly announced as provisions against the extension of fires,⁵⁶ have been pointed out by J. Gottfried⁵⁷ as regulations occasioned by the great and destructive conflagration stated to have taken place in that year.⁵⁸ These regulations prescribe a more commodious plan of construction, and the use of fire-proof materials for the steps leading to the public porticoes. They prohibit also the walls of private

dwelling-houses from joining on with those of any public building. They enact that, for the future, in all architectural plans, an open space of fifteen feet should be left between public and private buildings. We may presume, also, a similar connection⁵⁹ between the building-law of the emperor Leo (to which the explanatory and more comprehensive ordinance of Zeno, which is under consideration, was attached,) and the great conflagration by which Constantinople was laid waste in the year 469. According to the most credible authorities,⁶⁰ amongst which we are to reckon the *Metrical Imperial Chronicle* of Ephraim, a production of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and lately discovered by Angelo Mai,^{60a} this conflagration, which lasted for four days, and extended from north to south, laid waste the whole of the buildings which covered an area of five stadia long and fifteen wide, and destroyed much property, and treasures of art of inestimable value. The emperor Leo escaped to the suburb of Pera, and took care to secure for the future to this district a greater number of municipal buildings, by removing to it some of the public works.⁶¹ The same chronicler, Ephraim, relates that another calamitous fire, though of smaller extent, but one deeply to be deplored on account of the destruction of the great public library, visited the imperial city under the reign of Zeno.^{61a}

The regulations enacted by the laws of Leo for rebuilding the capital are only to be collected from the references to them in that of Zeno; for the former have not been handed down to us either in Justinian's Constitutions, or by any other channel. But the references in Zeno's law require to be very carefully examined and criticized; for it sometimes takes the tone of a mere explanation and extension of that of Leo, and at others gives us the words in an authentic and original form of another and earlier law of Zeno himself, of somewhat similar import, but which is equally lost to us.

The emperor Zeno expressly⁶² and particularly attributes to his predecessor, Leo, the prohibition, in the reconstruction of

the houses in Constantinople, to alter their previous form to the prejudice of the neighbours, or to intercept their light. But whilst Zeno himself confirms this prohibition, he thinks it expedient to make this reserve, that as such prohibition is only intended to benefit such neighbours, it may, on their free will and consent, be modified, or entirely laid aside. It must have been also clearly stated in the law of Leo, according to Zeno's version of it,⁶³ that, by a still earlier ordinance, on the reconstruction of a house destroyed by fire, if such new house was raised to the height of one hundred feet, the owner acquired the right of depriving his neighbour even of the view of the sea. This modification of the law is farther carried out by Zeno, to the effect that any mass of new buildings is also to be thus favoured. When, however, such mass of new buildings, the old ones not having been burned down, is rebuilt, the liberty to deprive the neighbouring houses of their view of the sea by such lofty private structure, can only be assumed on condition that a space a hundred feet in extent, and without any building upon it, shall be left quite free between the new and the adjoining buildings. To this, however, is added the further modification, that the claim of the proprietors of the adjoining plots of ground that their free and uninterrupted view should not be taken from them, should apply exclusively to the habitable parts of these private dwelling-houses, and not to those spaces which were merely appropriated to household purposes; for in respect to these last, nothing more need be observed than the usual legal interval of twelve feet. It is also clear that the habitable part of a house might, by arrangement with the neighbours, and with the free consent of the ground-landlord, be deprived of the right of such free view.

The question—whether the law of the Emperor Leo may have contained express directions in respect to the position or disposition of *mæniana* or *solaria*, will be further examined in a subsequent part of this paper.

The remaining portion of Zeno's ordinance consists of regu-

lations which have for their object, either the explanation of an older law of the same emperor, on the minimum of distance allowed between contiguous private dwellings; or which were sanctioned on this occasion by Zeno, as new and independent enactments for the completion of the regulations of Leo; or they are intended to ensure the efficiency of all the existing building ordinances, whether those of Leo or Zeno. This is done partly by denouncing severe punishments against the violators of the law, partly by the introduction of a simpler and more expeditious process for settling the several private complaints which had been occasioned by the new buildings.

It is to the older law of Zeno that we are to refer those points of the declaratory ordinance we are now treating of, which have for their object the maintenance of a free interval of twelve feet between contiguous private houses.⁶⁴ The apparent uncertainty contained in the words of this law, τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἕλαττον δυοκαίδεκα ποδῶν, is set aside by the explanation, that the stated interval of free space was to extend from the foundation to the cornice of the contiguous buildings. He who observed this interval, whether in the renewal of old or in the construction of new buildings, was not to be obstructed in reference to the height of his walls, or the opening of windows, provided he did not shut out his neighbour's house, not including the garden, from the view of the sea. Reference is also made in this document to such limitations and extensions of the right of building, as might pass from the ground proprietor to his neighbours by inheritance or by agreement. Whilst, then, this emperor (Zeno) makes express reference to a copy of the *θεία νομοθεσία*,⁶⁵ he does not mean that his own older law should be understood by that expression, but the regulation of the Emperor Leo. He is not speaking of a corresponding ordinance on the *legitimum spatium*, but on the liberty previously granted to construct windows *ad libitum* in the lofty dwelling-houses which were to be erected.

The following enactments (to which we shall have again to

refer, when we come to the explanation of the several clauses of the law) are to be viewed as new and substantive regulations, to which the attention of Zeno was drawn by the concessions of Leo in favour of those who undertook to build. For example: the precise prescriptions in regard to the plan and elevation of the *mæniana* or *solaria*, and on their fire-proof construction, as also on the use and nature of the steps leading to the upper parts of the buildings;⁶⁶ so also the restrictions in reference to the disposition of shops and warehouses where goods were sold, in the intervals of the colonnades in the different squares, or open spaces of the metropolis.⁶⁷

That section in Zeno's law is very carefully compiled, which treats of the punishment or penalty inflicted on those who violate the legal restrictions on construction;⁶⁸ and the same may be said of that which treats of the judicial proceedings in cases of private complaints.⁶⁹ In the progress of this Essay, we shall have occasion to show the very favourable light in which Zeno's regulations for these objects present themselves, when we compare them with the corresponding ordinances of the earlier or later emperors. One of the characteristics of Zeno's law is, not only that he is anxious to secure the proprietor against the delays of the contractors and others, by means of the official intervention of the prefect of the city, but that, in order to secure the just and impartial treatment of complaints, which might be brought by the suffering neighbours against the proprietor, he has released the jurisdiction of the prefect from the observance of such formalities, as seemed most likely to interfere with a speedy decision, and which tended to encourage chicanery. These regulations are introduced with so much circumspection, that every prejudice is removed which might interfere with the right of both parties to a satisfactory and impartial hearing.

After this general review of the elements on which was based the building legislation, as well of Leo as of Zeno, it should be our object, before we proceed to the explanation of the

principal details in the ordinance of Zeno, to examine preliminarily the following question:—"Where are we to seek for the difference of principle between the two legislative acts? and how far some of the orders or precepts of both the legislators—which apparently clash with the express purport or motive of the law—may be justified by the necessary adoption of certain arrangements, in consequence of the peculiar locality of the capital?"⁷⁰

We can hardly be mistaken if we conclude, from the above-mentioned peculiarities which Zeno adopted from the law of Leo, that, in order to forward the rebuilding of the capital, which had been laid waste by a wide-spreading conflagration, Zeno thought right to offer various advantages to those who were disposed to build, and, therefore, only kept in view the most indispensable provisions against future danger from fire: for it is clear that Zeno, as well in the declaratory portion of his additions to Leo's law, as also in his own independent ordinances which are annexed to that law, decidedly took pains to assign the proper limits to these privileges, and to protect them against probable abuses. Amongst these privileges must certainly be reckoned the permission, by which it was not only allowed to erect houses to the height of 100 feet, but this was also accompanied by other special advantages to the owner. On the other hand, there are a few—but only a few—probable grounds for supposing that there were also in the same law some favourable regulations in respect to the *macniana*. The raising of the dwellings to the great heights therein mentioned, which could only be possible here and there, on account of the foundations, seems to have been favoured by the terraces on which Constantinople was built, and, indeed, almost to have been rendered unavoidable by the limited space for building within the city walls. It is, therefore, more than probable that the prohibitions⁷¹ enacted by the earlier Roman emperors especially for the city of Rome, against carrying buildings above the height of sixty or seventy feet, was not applied to Constanti-

nople. Moreover, the provision of the old Roman municipal regulations, that a certain extent of ground, unencumbered by any building, was in all cases to be left between adjacent houses for security against fire, appears to have been brought into operation also in Byzantium, and was considerably extended by the edicts of the Christian emperors.⁷³ We need not, however, suppose that it was intended at Constantinople, more than in Rome, that this insulation of private houses should apply to all the four sides, but merely to those sides not bordering on the public streets: for the descriptions of the peculiar architecture of Constantinople which have been already given,⁷³ show that the habitations in the lines of the principal streets and squares were erected alongside of each other uninterruptedly.⁷⁴ The predecessors of Zeno contented themselves with prohibiting, in express words, the building of any private houses, or the making of any additions to them, in immediate contact with any public edifice; but they enacted no prohibition against the close vicinity of private dwellings.⁷⁵ And Zeno himself, in the passage of the law we are treating of, where he enjoins neighbours to preserve the *legitimum spatium* in a bye-street or passage, does not refer to houses ranging alongside of one another, but to such as were placed opposite to or facing one another.⁷⁶

Now, when the Emperor Leo gave to houses which were a hundred feet high the privilege of intercepting from their neighbours the view even of the sea,⁷⁷ it is plain that he favoured one rule of local law at the expense of another. The favoured privilege of a free view of the sea is described by Justinian⁷⁸ as a local regulation, exclusively calculated for the locality of Constantinople. We must not, however, assign as in any way a motive for this privilege a care for the sanitary state of the city, although, in ancient times, the free passage and current of air were carefully provided for in the disposition of private dwellings.⁷⁹ The express words of the Emperors Zeno and Justinian⁸⁰ place it beyond a doubt, that the law for leaving

open the view of the sea had reference simply to the personal gratification of the inhabitants. Leo disregarded the favour altogether, the moment he could ensure thereby that houses would be built a hundred feet high. Zeno also confirmed and extended the concession, when he confined his care on the subject to a provision for the separation of the houses of private individuals, when carried to the height alluded to, by a considerable interval of free space from the neighbouring houses behind them.

It is probable, though not absolutely certain, from the corresponding words in the edict of Zeno,⁸¹ that Leo's law also contained special stipulations for the guidance of the building-contractors, in reference to those overhanging and projecting structures appended to dwelling-houses, and which in Rome were known by the names of *mæniana* and *solaria*, used also, with the same meaning, in Constantinople, though sometimes confounded with the *parapetasia*:⁸² * for, in the year 368, Valentinian and Valens had indiscriminately removed all *mæniana* erected in Constantinople, and prohibited them altogether for the future.⁸³ By a law of the Emperor Arcadius, in 398, this prohibition was extended to all similar buildings in the metropolis coming under the name of *parapetasia*.⁸⁴ The subsequent ordinance of Honorius and Theodosius, in 423,⁸⁵ concedes the construction of *mæniana*, in cases where a free interval of ten, or, if required, fifteen feet, is reserved when they are erected; but this arrangement is expressly confined to the provinces. On the other hand, Zeno's law, of which we are speaking, treats of the *mæniana* in the capital as of a common circumstance; but it is provided that they shall be constructed of fire-proof materials, and that the

* The *Mæniana* may be considered as open balconies, verandas, or loggia; and, indeed, though not generally spelt with diphthong æ, may be considered as being anything that projected from the wall; the *Solaria* were the flat roofs or terraces exposed to the sun; and the *Parapetasia* appear to have been such projecting buildings as were concealed by awnings, lattice-work, or solid enclosure.

proper distance should be secured between them and the adjoining houses.⁸⁶ This justifies the supposition, that the law enacted by Theodosius for the provinces had been, in the interval, applied also to the metropolis of the Byzantine empire.

The direct object of Leo's building ordinance, namely, to encourage a disposition to build in the capital so lately reduced to ashes, and to release it from all restrictions not absolutely necessary to provide against future accidents from fire, might have been justified by the pressure of existing circumstances; but we must seek for other causes to comprehend the merit of the subsequent ordinance of the Emperor Zeno. The experience gained since the publication of Leo's building law had led to the conviction, that the extension of the liberty in question, like the limitation of it, in the extent of the *legitimum spatium*, opened a door as well to the groundless encroachments of the owners, as to the litigious reclamations of the neighbours, who pretended to be damaged. Zeno did what he could to put a stop to this source of odious complaints and endless lawsuits; and his address in solving this difficulty deserves to be fully explained. He went direct to the root of the evil, in endeavouring to remove the vagueness of the form and words employed in the compilation of the older laws; and he thoroughly instructed all persons interested therein, how, in laying out a plan for building, they might meet beforehand every future encroachment upon the limits of the ground-plan authorized by the law, and this by means of a kindly understanding with the neighbours who were entitled to interfere. An understanding of this kind could not, indeed, supersede the rights of individuals, any more than restrictions on buildings required by the public interest could be considered as in any manner subject to the private *arrangement* of the neighbours. Zeno, moreover, gives it to be understood, that the weakness of Leo's legislation on this subject consisted in merely enacting prohibitions and concessions, without laying down at the same time any sufficient rules for their practical application. This want of a com-

prehensive system of regulations is fully provided for by the law we are treating of as enacted by Zeno, inasmuch as it prescribes to the competent authorities a precise and definite mode of proceeding for the disputes which might arise out of the schemes and plans for building houses within the walls of Constantinople.⁸⁷

It has been already mentioned that the older ordinances, both of Leo and Zeno, for regulating buildings, gave occasion to various chicaneries, litigious informations, and lawsuits. Zeno had especially shown the extent of this mischief in respect to the inadmissible interpretation which had been given to the words of his own earlier law, *ἰ. ε. τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον δυοκαίδεκα ποδῶν*.⁸⁸ This will also apply to what the same emperor has said, in the preface to the ordinance in question, on the necessity of correcting the mal-interpretations of the law of Leo. The same may be said of the edict of Justinian,⁸⁹ upon quibbling and vexatious misconstructions given to Zeno's provisions for the encouragement of private buildings, when they were separated from the adjacent houses by an interval of 100 feet. The proprietors had, for instance, taken advantage of this law to deprive their neighbours of the view of the sea, merely by building a wall outside of this interval, without troubling themselves further about the erection of a dwelling-house. Such like infractions or circumventions of the law, which the emperor characterises as a confirmation of the proverbial denomination of neighbours' quarrels, were to cease for the future; and the favour in question could only hold good when proper dwelling houses were *bonâ fide* erected.

On another authority, also, a credible account has come down to us, which leaves no doubt that the litigious disputes of the inhabitants of neighbouring houses in Constantinople were not merely prompted by the peculiar position of the city, but that they had an inexhaustible source in the national character of the inhabitants themselves. Agathias distinctly relates⁹⁰ the following circumstances, amongst various others, which occurred

on the occasion of the great earthquake in 557, by which the inhabitants of the capital were for a long time kept in a state of continual alarm. Anthemius of Tralles, whom Justinian invited to Byzantium on account of his distinguished acquirements in mathematics and in mechanics, and who there gave a very remarkable proof of his ability, in the construction of the church of St. Sophia,⁹¹ was, in the beginning of his residence there, on terms of the most intimate friendship with his next neighbour, Zeno, a rhetorician; but they became afterwards bitter enemies, from a cause which has never been accurately explained. It can, however, scarcely be a matter of doubt, that the erection of some new building, or the alteration of an old one in the house of one of the parties, by which the other felt himself aggrieved, either in respect to the view, or some other cause, contributed to their differences, such quarrels amongst neighbours in Constantinople being of daily occurrence. Upon this, Anthemius laid down a series of pipes or conduits under the foundations of his own house, which lay deeper than those of his neighbour, by which he contrived to play a great mass of hot vapour against Zeno's house, which lay on a higher level, in order to frighten him. The scheme did not fail of its effect: his frightened neighbour at first attributed the phenomena produced by it to an earthquake; but after a time, and after other experiments creating optical and acoustic illusions, which were practised against him for the same objects, and which were meant to imitate thunder and lightning, he was no longer in doubt respecting the originator of these extraordinary appearances. He addressed himself to the Emperor, and petitioned him for protection against the ingenious annoyances of his persecutor.

II.

If we now proceed to consider in detail the contents of Zeno's ordinance, we shall find that some of its enactments are, by the circumstances attending their application, expressly limited to the locality of the metropolis. On the other hand,

in some of these details such local limitation can only be deduced from incidental allusions to the peculiarity of the Greek style of building, and particularly that of Constantinople.

To the first of these classes must be referred the contents of the sixth section of our Constitution, which regulates the architectural plan and elevation of shops in the public squares or open places of the imperial residence. It is there enacted, that the intervals between the columns, which belong to the public colonnades and squares, in those parts of the city which lead from the *Μίλιον* to the Capitol, must not be occupied by buildings, partition-walls or enclosures, or other permanent structures. It will only be lawful to place here stalls, or other places of sale, not more than six feet in width and seven in height, so that free access to the street shall be kept open in particular parts of the colonnades. It is at the same time decreed, that all such shops or stalls in this district shall be faced with marble, at least on the outside. In respect to the other parts of the city, it is left to the discretion of the prefect of the city to grant permission for the erection of such shops as he may judge expedient, so as not to interfere with the public convenience. This magistrate is simply instructed, in the granting or in the refusal of such permissions, to proceed impartially, and without distinction of persons.

It is evident, from the foregoing statements, that this favoured district of the city, from its situation and its architectural decoration, must have been a very distinguished quarter of the metropolis of the Byzantine empire. It cannot be necessary to enter into any refutation of those who refer the expression Capitolium to Rome, and change the word *Μίλιον* into *Μιλιάριον*, thereby imagining the Miliarium, which stood in the Forum of Rome, and which, from the character of its ornaments, was called Miliarium Aureum.⁹² The expression Capitolium is applied not unfrequently to other cities subject to the Roman dominion, sometimes as marking the locality of the public treasury, sometimes the seat of some

learned institute or academy—in both cases following the example of the Roman Capitol, which was as well the seat of the public treasury, as of the public library, and in process of time was used also as the theatre for holding the public exercises in rhetoric or oratory.⁹³ Thus, a mention of the Capitolium of Carthage, in Africa, occurs in the Roman codex,⁹⁴ to designate the spot where the landowners throughout the province of Africa were directed to pay the instalments of their land-tax. In the same manner, also, the Capitolium of Constantinople is spoken of, as being a public building quite distinct from the many imperial palaces which were in the same city. We may especially quote the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*,⁹⁵ which tells us, under the year 407, A.D., that the statue of Christ, in the Byzantine Capitol, had been thrown down by a hurricane.⁹⁷ We may refer also to an ordinance of the younger Theodosius, of the year 425, which is preserved in the collections of the Theodosian Constitutions;⁹⁸ here the Capitol is mentioned as the place in which were delivered the public lectures to the High School in Constantinople; and the lecturers themselves are therein described as *intra Capitolii auditorium constituti*, and *hi qui in Capitolio docere præcepti sunt*.

Nor have we less ample authorities for the mention of a distinct locality in Constantinople, under the name of *Μίλιον*. We may begin with the reference in Suidas.⁹⁹ This reference comprises, under the same denomination, apparently very different objects—partly, *i.e.*, a milestone, corresponding to the *Miliarium Aureum* at Rome, and partly a splendid architectural monument at Constantinople, which contained an allegorical statue of the *Fortuna Urbis*, and the statues of several emperors. This combination of objects is, however, justified by a comparison of the various appropriate or occasional epithets which Codinus gives to the *Μίλιον*, called by him sometimes *μεγάλον*, and sometimes *κορωνίον*. He describes it amongst the architectural monuments at Byzantium¹⁰⁰ which

originated with Constantine, as the termination of a large colonnade near the imperial palace, and as one of the remarkable given points, according to which it was convenient to define the extent of the several regions of the city. He speaks also¹⁰¹ of the sculptured monuments which surrounded the Μίλιον. Then again, of the triumphal arches on the place or *area* of the Μίλιον, the tops of which were decorated with the statues of Constantine and Helena, also with a cross, bound around with a chain, which was considered as the symbol of the inviolability of the city.¹⁰² In the immediate vicinity of this monument Codinus places also the equestrian statues of Trajan and of the younger Theodosius, as well as the statues of some of the members of the family of the Emperor Justin. He mentions also a Basilica, which was built near the Μίλιον.¹⁰³ In another passage,¹⁰⁴ it is stated by him that the Emperor Phocas erected a Temple of St. Phocas on the area of the Μίλιον; and close by—namely, on the spot where was formerly an old gate, with a relief of horses for the *cursus publicus*^{104a} he placed the image of a biga, from which the spot came afterwards to be called Δίππιον. We must, therefore, consider the Μίλιον at Constantinople as a *place* which had its name from certain preparatory arrangements there made for the *cursus publicus*,¹⁰⁵ and containing also several public monuments. Some of these buildings Zosimus^{105a} places in the Forum of Constantine; we may therefore look for the *place* of the Μίλιον in this spot. There is nothing contradictory with this in the fact that, according to the authority of the historians,¹⁰⁶ the trophies of a war brought to a successful conclusion, as well as the decapitated heads of traitors, may have been exposed to view on the same place. On the other hand, the proposed change of the words¹⁰⁷ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Μιλίου into α. τ. κ. Μιλιαρίου, in the text of Zeno's law, must be decidedly rejected;¹⁰⁸ and it has already been disproved by the best commentators.^{108a}

Another question may be asked:—Which district or part of

the city can it have been, which Zeno's ordinance describes as limited by the Capitol and the *Μίλιον*, and as traversed by open colonnades? The answer cannot be long doubtful. This was the intersectional line leading from the fourth to the eighth region, within which were built the two Forums of Constantine and Theodosius, and which, consequently, adjoined those large spaces or squares which were adorned with splendid buildings and fine monuments of art.¹⁰⁹ It can scarcely be required to enter into any justification of the opinion, that for such a distinguished quarter of the city, the admission of public shops within the range of the colonnades could only have been allowed under certain conditions; and these conditions must have been such as to consort with the character of the surrounding neighbourhood without prejudicing trade, whilst of course these restrictions would not have been requisite in the less ornamented regions of the city. It might rather excite our surprise that the same law, which just before¹¹⁰ had expressly forbidden the appropriation of any space in the public streets or squares to the use of private buildings, should afterwards have permitted the erection of buildings for trade on those very spots, merely placing them under the superintendence of the magistrate. But similar contradictions are frequently to be met with in the most distant and distinct portions of Roman history. The Herculanean Tables¹¹¹ prohibit, in the most circumstantial and precise language, the occupation of the colonnades and public squares in Rome with private buildings; but this restriction is immediately modified by a stipulation, that every exceptional authorization given for this purpose by the competent officers shall be scrupulously attended to and maintained. The Christian emperors also, who were perpetually renewing these prohibitions against the extension of private houses to the public squares and buildings,¹¹² nevertheless frequently allude to the shops and stalls erected within the colonnades near the Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople; and they enjoin, withal, that the ground-rent, or land-tax,¹¹³ to

be raised on these localities shall be disposed of in favour of the building-fund belonging to the metropolis. Nor does it require any more direct proof, that the shops or magazines for the most costly goods were situated in the most showy parts of the city,¹¹⁴ and by their rich and splendid decoration, contributed to enhance the gorgeous appearance of the whole city. The difference, however, in respect to the arrangement and the decoration of these shops, which Zeno's law forces on our observation, between the different districts of the metropolis, is, perhaps, further explained by the fact, that during the reign of that emperor, a very great accession of magnificent public works in the principal places of the metropolis took place, owing to the liberality of one Mammianus;¹¹⁵ and it thereby became necessary to make the prohibition still more stringent against their being disfigured by private buildings. Codinus also informs us,¹¹⁶ that several public monuments of an earlier time, which encroached upon the public squares in Constantinople without contributing to their beauty, were removed by the Emperor Zeno.

Amongst the particular stipulations of Zeno's ordinance, in which we seem to recognise a combination or confusion of certain architectural arrangements suited to Greek manners and to the locality of the metropolis, with the mode of building specially prevalent in Rome, we must not omit to enumerate the following. In the first place, we may mention the details¹¹⁷ regarding the different restrictions for regulating the windows which give a free view, or prospect windows, in contradistinction to those which only served for the admission of light, or lumeniferous windows. We are not to conclude from hence, that this description or form of window was first introduced by the imperial edict to which reference is here made. Zeno seems rather to have provided therein against any misinterpretation of a former ordinance of his on the *legitimum spatium*, which gave leave to the proprietor of a house, who had left an interval of twelve feet between him and his neighbours unbuilt upon, to

open in his own wall windows of any form and character. Nor can we refuse to admit that occasions may have occurred in Rome, as well as in Constantinople, for distinguishing between windows constructed for the admission of light, and those which commanded also a prospect or view from them.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, we are to attribute only to the locality of Constantinople the enactment of Zeno,¹¹⁹ that in the case of a distance of not more than ten feet between adjacent houses, the *rule* should be, that only lumeniferous or light-admitting windows should be introduced, and that these must always be at the height of at least six feet above the floor of the room. It is also expressly enjoined, that this distance was to be measured from the real level of the floor, and no false floor (Τὸ καλούμενον ψευδόπατον) was to be allowed; that is to say, there should be no banquette or raised floor under the windows within the floor of the rooms, which would afford the means of seeing out of the higher windows.¹²⁰ This prescription seems to allude to a well-known or common construction in the disposition of Greek dwelling-houses, which served, indeed, to circumvent the purpose of the building laws, but need not in any way have been first called into existence by them. We find likewise in Vitruvius¹²¹ other technical expressions, compounded after the same manner as ψευδόπατον, and which always point to some special contrivance, occasioned by the peculiarities of the Greek style of architecture.

We must also place in the same category the enactments in this ordinance of Zeno in regard to the *solaria*.¹²² It has already been shown¹²³ that the Romans clearly distinguished that upper portion of a residence known under the name of *solarium*, which was exposed to the uninterrupted rays of the sun, from the *maeniana*, or buildings projecting from any part of the outer wall of a house, and specially appropriated to the enjoyment of an uninterrupted view. So common were these projecting casements, that Vitruvius describes the painted scene in the comic theatre (or that required for every-day life), as

representing the fronts of houses, with many windows, and projecting *mæniana*.¹²⁴ On the other hand, in Constantinople, it does not appear that these appropriations were so precisely¹²⁵ observed; for in consequence of the local regulation against the building out their neighbours from the view of the sea, the *solaria* may have also served the purpose of the *mæniana*. Zeno's law enacts that the *solaria* should not be built of wood, but of fire-proof materials, such as were used in the Roman buildings. (Τῷ σχήματι τῶν λεγομένων ῥωμανίστιων.) It is at the same time provided, that these *solaria* must be raised to the height of fifteen feet at least above the pavement of the street, and that the stone or wooden pilasters which served as their supports should only be erected in the lateral lanes or passages; nor even there be allowed to stand perpendicularly on the pavement, but were to be inclined towards the wall of the house, so as not to encroach on, or interfere with the public use of the highway. It was also prohibited to construct any access or approach from the street to such solarium. If we are not mistaken, we may here perceive a decided mixture of the elements of the Greek and Roman styles of building. In one passage, the imperial enactment respecting the height of the *mæniana*, and the mode of supporting the *solaria*, proves their identity with the Roman *mæniana*,¹²⁶ to which also we are referred by the expression, ῥωμανίστιων. But then, again, the mention of an approach specially and immediately leading from the street to the solarium* reminds us of a custom peculiar to the Greeks. This is the description which Vitruvius¹²⁷ gives of the peculiar distribution of the space in a Greek dwelling-house; in which are described the separate passages leading from the principal entrance of the house to certain adjacent portions of it, which were thus put in

* When the *Mæniana* consisted of buildings covered with a pergula, and exposed to the sun, they would acquire the name of *Solaria*; and when the *Solaria*, or terraces on the roof, were enclosed in at the sides, and made to project over the wall, they would obtain the name of *Mæniana*; and thus there would be a constant confusion between these terms.

immediate communication with the street. The object which the architect has in his eye therein, namely, to provide for the accommodation and convenience of the guests who were lodging in the house, has, indeed, in itself no immediate connexion with the *solaria*. But still less can we refer this arrangement to an imitation of the custom in Rome for providing approaches to the *cænacula* by steps from the street.¹²⁸ For without taking into consideration the difference between the *solaria* and the *cænacula*, the ordinance we are discussing does not treat of a flight of steps opening merely toward the street, but of steps quite out of the house, and leading down from the *solaria** into the street. It was these last only which Zeno attempted to regulate, as constructions which narrowed the gangway, and increased the danger of fire. Finally, with regard to the enactment of Zeno respecting the support of the *solaria* by slanting pillars, it must not be overlooked that this mode of construction still exists in Constantinople, and in the suburbs of that city.

Something still remains to be added, on the punishment which the Emperor imposed on those, who transgressed the prescribed regulation respecting the architectural disposition of the *mæniana*.¹²⁹ The illegal structure was to be demolished or *pulled down*, and the ground-landlord was to pay a fine of twelve pounds of gold. Similar punishments awaited the architect, as well as the contractor for the work, and the superintendent; and this last, if unable to pay the fine, was visited also with corporal punishment and banishment. The transgression of the prohibition of Justinian, which we have before alluded to,¹³⁰ namely, the depriving a neighbour of his view of the sea by a single wall within the legitimate interval, was also visited by this Emperor with the forfeiture of ten pounds' weight of gold. He added, however, a peculiar enactment for the

* It appears probable, from the frequent interchange of the words *Solarium* and *Mænianum*, that the steps here referred to gave access to the *mæniana*; as it would be contrary to the universal practice of the East, for steps to lead up to the roofs of the houses.

application of these fines, and they were to be handed over to the theatrical fund, which was under the administration of the prefect of the city.

The double purpose of the penal enactment of Zeno, that is, as well with a view to the immediate setting aside of such architectural projects as were contrary to law, as to the levying of the penalty incurred by the offenders, is not expressed with the same precision, or in the same decisive language, in the former precedents of the building laws of the Romans which have been handed down to us. Thus, for example, in the Table of Heraclea a power is purely and absolutely placed in the hands of those officers charged with the management of the city police, to remove all unlawful hindrances and nuisances created by buildings on the open *places* and streets of Rome, and to inflict the legal penalties on the offenders;¹³¹ and the activity of the officers was ensured by the authority or privilege of the citizens to denounce all such violations of the law to the superior magistrate.¹³² And in later times this was rendered more perfect by the intervention of the public prosecutor.¹³³ In the prohibition to sell to another the right or obligation to pull down houses, or to apply architectural ornaments to the decoration of the buildings of another city, the Roman laws¹³⁴ mainly point to a penalty to be imposed on its infraction—this being the most efficient means of preventing the illegal act in question, *i. e.*, the violation of a former Building Act; whereas, in other cases in which, without competent authority, any private scheme had been carried into execution on a ground and soil belonging to the public, all the classic jurists,¹³⁵ as well as the constitutional laws of the emperors,¹³⁶ prove that the immediate and inevitable consequence of such transgression of the law was the removal of the projected nuisance, and the replacing of everything in its former state.

NOTES.

¹ viii. 10, De *Ædificiis Privatis*. ² viii. 12, De *Operibus Publicis*. ³ xv. i. *id.*

⁴ In the Ottoboni MS. of the *Lex Rom. Burgundion.* tit. xv., we read as follows: De servitute luminis, vel aëris, similiter constitutum est, ut inter privatorum fabricas x. pedes, inter publicas xv. dimittantur, secundum legem Theodosiani, lib. iv. sub titulo, "De *Ædificiis Privatis et Publicis*." Amaduzzi (in his edition of the *LL. Novellæ Anecd.* p. 205, not. 14, Rom. 1767, F.) has concluded from this citation, that Gothofred must be mistaken in his attempt to replace the lost section (De *Ædificiis Privatis*) at the conclusion of the fourth book of the Theodosian Collection of Constitutions. The same objection was afterwards made by Wenck, in the edition of the *libb. v. prior. Theod. C.* p. 269, not. y, Lips. 1825-8. There are, notwithstanding, some strong grounds in favour of Gothofred's arrangement, which is supported also by G. Hänel, in his edition of the *Theodos. Cod.* iv. 24. Compare also Haubold's *Exercitation. Vitruvian. Spce.* II. in f. (in *Opuscul. t. ii.* p. 425, not. f.)

⁵ The ninth chapter of the *Codex Just. De Ædific. Priv.* 8, 10, has evidently crept out of the 46th chapter of the *Codex Theodos. C.* xv. 1, De *Operib. Publ.* But for the other Constitutions of the same titulus, which do not coincide with the time of Theodosius II., their origin can only be sought for in the lost section of the Theodosian Collection, which has already been alluded to.

⁶ The address of this law has lately been well made out by E. Zachariä, in his edition of the *Prochiron Impp. Basilii, &c.*, p. 318, Heidelb. 1837, 8°, on the authority of a MS. in the Bodleian library; on the same authority, the judgment which had been passed as to the name of the prefect of the city, (*Ἀδαμάντιος*), on the testimony of a MS., is further strengthened. (See *Pet. et Franc. Pithæi Observation. ad Cod. et Novell. Cod.* viii. 10, p. 384, Par. 1689, F.; Spangenberg's edit. of the *Cod. Just.* l. l. and the edit. of Hermann, p. 524.) The reading in Justinian's c. 13. *Cod.* 8, 10, "*Constitutio Zenonis div. mem. ad Amantium Pf. v. Scripta*," which is taken from the *Recensio Bononiensis*, rests on a very pardonable mistake. For during the period of the Christian emperors, the name of Amantiūs much more frequently occurs amongst the higher officials than that of Adamantius. Compare the *Fasti Consulares*; the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, iv. 2; the *Chronicon Marcellinus*, p. 59, Lutet. 1619, 8°; the *Chronicon Alexandrin.* p. 763, ed. Raderi Monac. 1615, 4°, and Gothofred's *Comment. on the Codex of Theodosius. Prosopograph. C. Th. v. Amantius*.

⁷ These are sufficient grounds to do away with the conjecture, that there might have been here what might be called a *bilinguis constitutio*. On the Constitutions of this kind under the later emperors, compare Biener's *Revision of the Just. Cod.* sec. 98 seq. Berlin, 1838, 8°, and the *Author's Civil Law Treatises*, vol. i. p. 57. *Ibid.* 1820, 8°.

⁸ c. 13, l. l. 8, 10.

⁹ c. 12, sec. 2, 4, ib. 8, 10.

¹⁰ See note 8.

¹¹ Nov. 53. On the other hand the Nov. 165, corresponding to this in the contents, is not one of Justinian's laws, but a portion of the so-called *Eparchica*. Compare Biener's History of the Novellæ of Justinian, p. 452 seq. 476, Berl. 1824, 8°.

¹² See C. Witte on the Leges Restitutæ of Justinian, Cod. S. 20, p. 206 seq. Bresl. 1830, 8°: Biener's l. l. p. 551 seq. 617 seq. and in the additions to the Revision of Just. Codex, p. 163 seq.

¹³ Compare the section: Description of the most important MSS. of the Novellæ, in Biener's History of the Novellæ, Append. v. p. 551 seq.

¹⁴ Pithoüs l. l. p. 384 seq. See above, note 6.

¹⁵ Compare Biener, l. l. p. 385-401, and in the additions to the Revision, p. 164.

¹⁶ Zachariä l. l. p. 315 seq. See note 6. ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 209 seq.

¹⁸ Basilicorum, lviii. 11, c. 12, lviii. 12, c. 12.

¹⁹ In the Manuale Legum, II. 4. (Compare the edition by O. Reiz, in the supplemental volume of the Thesaurus Nov. Jur. Civ. et Can. by Meerman.)

²⁰ Compare the Rubric to sec. 12 of the Manuale Legum, l. l. ²¹ Id. sec. 42.

²² Id. sec. 51. ²³ Id. sec. 49. Compare Vitruvius de Architectura, vii. 5.

²⁴ See above, note 18. ²⁵ See note 16. ²⁶ C. Witte, l. l. (Note 12.)

²⁷ Witte sets out with the supposition (p. 20), that the text which we have in the printed editions of Justinian's Constitutions is much too detailed for the object of the collection: accordingly, he considers this text to be the original of the law. On the other hand, at p. 207, he concludes, from the deviations from that text in Harmenopulus, that the reporter may have made use of a more perfect original copy of Zeno's Ordinance, which may have found its way into the *Eparchica* (Regulations of Police). The passage, however, in Harmenopulus, (ib. sec. 46,) to which special reference is made, is not in any degree the origin of Zeno's law, but an extraneous addition from other sources.

²⁸ See Biener's additions, p. 164, and Herrmann, ibid. p. 519, not. a. See note 6.

²⁹ Compare note 8.

³⁰ See note 11.

³¹ Compare Novellæ, 165, (note 11); Harmenopulus, ibid. ii. 4, sec. 46, and Theodorus Hermopolit. Nov. 165, p. 165, cited in the following note.

³² Athanasii Scholast. epitome Novellar. Justiniani, tit. 21, c. 2, (in G. E. Heinbach's Anecdota, t. i. p. 180, Lips. 1838, 4°) and Theodori Hermopolitani Breviarium Novellar. Justin. Nov. 63, (in E. Zachariä's Anecdota, p. 68, Lips. 1843, 4°.)

³³ Compare Zachariä, l. l. p. 246, cap. 3. De Edictis Præfectorum Pr. quæ supersunt; and p. 266 seq. Edicta Præfectorum, Pr. Harmenopulus, ibid.

³⁴ We need not pause as to the other question, whether the modern common-law praxis can take cognizance of the contents of c. 12, sec. 8, 10, although this, being a Lex Restituta, does not belong to the received code — whereas, the received law of Justinian, (that is, c. 13, id. 8, 10,) of which there is no doubt, and by which Zeno's ordinance was confirmed in its fullest extent, must remain inapplicable and unintelligible, as a *referens sine relato*, unless the practical lawyer refers to Zeno's text. Compare Pfeiffer's Practical Conclusions, vol. iv. No. 1.

³⁵ c. 13, l. l. 8, 10.

³⁶ Nov. 63.

³⁷ Prochiron Basilii, etc. tit. 38, 5, p. 210. (See above, note 6.) Basilicorum, lviii. 11, c. 12. Harmenopulus, l. l. ii. 4, sec. 46. Compare Jo. Luenelavius Notator. lib. ii. (in Otto's Thesaur. t. iii. p. 1548.)

³⁸ Haubold, in his *Manuale Basilicorum*, gives a view of books illustrative of Zeno's law, *Cod. Just.* viii. 10, c. 12, c. 13, and much more completely in *Exercitationes Vitruvianæ*, l. c. p. 425. (See above, note 4.) The several works on the building regulations of Rome are given by Treckell, in his *Observations on the Select Antiquities of Brissou*, I. (*Opera Minora Brissouii*, ed. Treckell, p. 1, Lyons, B 1747, F.;) and in Haubold's *Institution*. *J. R. Hist. Dogmat.* iii. 3, sec. 164, p. 109, of Otto's edition. Unfortunately, we have not had it in our power to compare the treatises of A. Federigi, which are there quoted (*Diss. in quâ L. 12, De Ædif. Privat. explicatur*, Neap. 1766-1770,) with those of N. Carletti, (*La Costituzione del Imp. Zenone*, Neap. 1783, 8°,) which treat exclusively of Zeno's Ordinance, both in a juristical and an architectural point of view. The judgment given of these treatises by Griesinger, (*De Servitute Luminum*, p. 167, Lips. 1819, 8°,) does not bear the stamp of his having very carefully examined their contents. This is not the case with that of Haubold, l. c. This last writer praises but moderately the work of Federigi, and describes Carletti as having copied from him.

³⁹ Thus, for example, in the concise observations of the brothers Pithœi, (see above, note 6,) and in the Commentators on Harmenopulus. (See above, Reiz. loc. cit. and Abr. Havercamp's *Specimen Jurid. Inaug. ad C. Harmenopuli promptuar*, ii. 4, sec. 34 in G. Ölrich's *Thesaur. Diss. Jurid. Belg.* vol. 1, t. 3, p. 45 seq.)

⁴⁰ *e. g.* in G. Pancirolus' *Thesaur. Var. Lection.* II. p. 228. In Heineccius' *Jurisprud. Rom. et Att.* t. ii, p. 1350.

⁴¹ Westphal (*De Libertate et Servitutib. Prædiorum*, ii. 7, sec. 180 seq. p. 195 seq. Lips. 1773, 8°); this author is said by Witte, loc. cit. p. 208, to be the only good editor of Zeno's law, but by following his own mode, of acting merely as a compiler, he has given us nothing like an original inquiry into the subject.

⁴² c. 12, sec. 1, 2, 4, h. t. 8, 10. ⁴³ Compare note 8. ⁴⁴ c. 13, id. 8, 10.

⁴⁵ This clearly results from the list of works illustrative of Zeno's law; see note 38 seq. ⁴⁶ Compare Procopius de *Ædificiis*, i. 5.

⁴⁷ A long list of these calamitous events might be made from the *Chronicles*. A specimen from the time of Constantine to that of Justinian will suffice; local earthquakes of considerable importance are reported in the years 396, 407, 417, 422, 423, 447, 480, 487, 533, 557. See the *Chronicon* of Marcellinus, p. 9 seq. 27, 40, 52. Lutet. 1619, 8°; the *Chronicon* of Alexandria, pp. 714, 718, 726, 734, 738, 758, 786, ed. M. Raderi. Monac. 1615. 4; the *Histories* of Agathias, v. 3. Compare Gibbon's *History of the Decline, &c.*, cap. 43. ad fin. Slighter volcanic phenomena, which, however, were very destructive in the capital of the empire, and gave occasion to the foundation of several penance-days in the church, may be passed over; as, for example, the copious shower of ashes in 472, which coincided with a remarkable eruption of Vesuvius. (*Marcellini Chronicon*. p. 37; *Chronic. Alexandr.* p. 748.) The less extensive conflagrations were those of the years 446, 448, 491, 498, 507, 509, 510. *Marcellin. l. cit.* pp. 27, 28, 44, 50, 51. *Chronicon Alexandr.* p. 760. The most destructive belong to the years 404, 406, 407, 433, 465, 469, 532. (*Marcellin. loc. cit.* p. 13 seq. 23, 63 seq. *Chronicon Alexandr.* pp. 714, 716, 728, 744, 748, 778.)

⁴⁸ Codinus de *Signis Constantinopolitanis*, p. 51 seq. The same, *De Ædific. Constantinopolitanis*, p. 84 seq. Becker's ed. Bonn, 1843, 8vo. *Chronicon Alexandr.*

p. 618 seq. Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christiana, i. p. 16, (in the Appendix to his *Histor. Byzant. Lutet.* 1618. F.) Gibbon, ch. 17.

⁴⁹ Codinus de Origin. C-pol. p. 12 seq. ed. Becker. *Chronie. Alexandr.* pp. 662, 664. Du Cange, loc. l. p. 21.

⁵⁰ Id. p. 23 seq. Codinus, l. l. p. 15 seq. Zosimus *Histor.* ii. 30 seq.

⁵¹ Du Cange, p. 37 seq. Codinus de Formâ et Amb. Urbis C-pol. p. 26. Idem de *Ædif. C-polit.* in init. p. 71. seq. ⁵² *Histor.* ii. 30 seq. 35 seq.

⁵³ We are here strikingly reminded of the descriptions of the locality of the more modern city. Compare extract of the description by the American traveller, N. P. Willis, in the *Magazine of Foreign Literature*, 1843, N. 77 seq.

⁵⁴ *Historiar.* v. 3.

⁵⁵ Codinus de S. Sophia, p. 132 seq. ed. Becker.

⁵⁶ Theod. Cod. xv. i. c. 45, c. 46, de Operibus Pub. (Just. Cod. c. 9, De *Ædific. Priv.* 8, 10.) ⁵⁷ See his Comment. in Theod. Cod. l. l. ⁵⁸ See above, note 47.

⁵⁹ This has already been pointed out by G. Pancirolus, loc. cit. (See above, n. 40.)

⁶⁰ See Evagrii Scholast. *Ecclesiast. Histor.* ii. 13. Compare Du Cange, l. l. lib. i. p. 66, and Gibbon, loc. cit.

^{60a} In the *Nova Collectio Scriptorum Veterum*, t. iii. p. vii. seq. 24. Rom. 1828, 4°.

⁶¹ *Chronie. Alexandr.* p. 748. The formal concession of civic or municipal rights to Pera, as well as its connexion with the city, were first granted by Justinian. Compare the last cited authority, p. 774, with Du Cange, l. l. lib. i. p. 66 seq.

^{61a} loc. cit. p. 26.

⁶² c. 12, sec. i. Compare pr. C. h. t. 8, 10.

⁶³ c. 12, sec. 4, *ibid.* 8, 10. The expression used in this document, *ἔτι δὲ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου*, in accordance with the reference immediately following to houses consumed by fire, can only point to the law of Leo, and not to the older ordinance of Zeno, spoken of in the second sec. of the same.

⁶⁴ c. 12, sec. 2, 3, *ibid.* 8, 10. On the relation of this injunction of Zeno to the ordinances of earlier emperors bearing the same appellation, compare the list of works regarding the building laws of Rome, referred to in note 38.

⁶⁵ c. 12, sec. 2, *ib.* 8, 10.

⁶⁶ c. 12, sec. 5, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ c. 12, sec. 6, *ib.*

⁶⁸ c. 12, sec. 5, 1.

⁶⁹ c. 12, sec. 7, 8, loc. cit. 8, 10.

⁷⁰ The commentators on Justinian's Jurisprudence, who make mention of Zeno's ordinance, readily pass their judgment on its real object; we entertain, however, some doubts, although the purport of this enactment may in fact be in conformity with the expression of Greisinger, loc. cit. p. 167, (see note 38,) whether the emperor had specially in view to restrict the right of house-owners, to construct on their own walls prospect or look-out windows, commanding a view of their neighbours' property.

⁷¹ Compare the list of works in note 38.

⁷² Id.

⁷³ See notes 52 and 54.

⁷⁴ On this mode of building, compare Haubold's *Exercitation. Vitruv.* p. 395 seq. 406, 410, 440 seq. (See note 4.)

⁷⁵ Theod. Cod. xv. 1, c. 39, c. 46, c. 47. De Opp. Public. J. Gothofredus in Comm. ad l. l. Ammianus Marcellin. xxvii. 9, sec. 10.

⁷⁶ c. 42. secs. 3, 5, h. t. 8, 10.

⁷⁷ Compare note 63.

⁷⁸ Nov. 63.

⁷⁹ Compare Vitruvius de Architect. v. 1, 7.

⁸⁰ c. 12, secs. 2, 4. *Ibid.* 8, 10. Nov. 63, Pref.

⁸¹ c. 12, sec. 5, loc. cit. 8, 10.

⁸² Com. the Author's *Manuale Latinitatis*, v. *Mænianum, Parapetasia, Solarium.*

⁸³ Ammian. Marcel. l. cit.: *Namque et mæniana sustulit omnia, fabricari Romæ priscis quoque vetita legibus; et discrevit ab ædibus sacris privatorum parietes iisdem inverecunde connexos.* Compare Valerius and the other commentators on this passage. ⁸⁴ Theod. Cod. l. l. c. 39. ⁸⁵ Just. Cod. c. 11. l. l. 8, 10.

⁸⁶ See note 82.

⁸⁷ See note 69.

⁸⁸ See note 64.

⁸⁹ Nov. 63.

⁹⁰ Historiar. V. 6, 7, 8. Gibbon's objections (chap. 40) to this narrative of the historian are rather calculated to support its credibility; for though many throw a doubt over the problems said to have been solved by Anthemius the mechanician, Gibbon himself allows that this is confirmed by the improvements introduced into the mechanical contrivances of our own times.

⁹¹ Compare Procopius de *Ædific.* I. 1.

⁹² Compare Spangenberg, in the Göttingen edition of the *Corpus Jur. Civ.* and the *Codex Const.* viii. 10, c. 12, sec. 6, note 61.

⁹³ Compare J. Gothofredus in *Comm. ad. Theod. Cod.* xiv. 9, c. 3, and J. C. F. Bähr's *History of Roman Literature*, sec. 14 b, p. 39 of the second edition, Carlsr. 1832, 8vo.

⁹⁴ Theod. Cod. xi. 1, c. 34, de *Annona et Tribut.*

⁹⁵ Compare Du Cange, l. l. lib. 2, p. 112 seq. 149. (See note 48.) ⁹⁶ Loc cit. p. 714.

⁹⁷ Codinus, de *Ædif. C-politan.* p. 76 seq. 83, ed. Becker, (compare Procopius, l. l. i. 10,) places a brazen statue of this description, and set up by Constantine, in the *χαλχη*: this building, however, formed a part only of the great Imperial palace. Compare Gibbon, loc. cit.

⁹⁸ Theod. Cod. xiv. 9, c. 3, de *Studiis Liberalibus Urbis Rom.*

⁹⁹ *Μίλιον. v. Στάδιον.*

¹⁰⁰ De *Originibus C-polit.* p. 22. De *Formâ et Amb. C-pol.* p. 25.

¹⁰¹ De *Signis C-polit.* pp. 35, 40, 69 seq. De *Ædific. C-polit.* pp. 101, 103. Compare Inerti Auctoris enarrat. *Chronograph.* (at the end of Becker's edition of Codinus.)

¹⁰² This cross was substituted for the ear of the sun and the statue of *Fortuna Urbis*, which had previously occupied this site. ¹⁰³ De *Signis C-polit.* p. 38 seq. 69.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, pp. 37 seq., 51. Compare the notes of Lambecius, ib. p. 237, Becker.

^{104a} This is probably the same ancient gate on the site of which Constantine, in extending the walls which surrounded the new city, constructed the splendid forum, which was called after him. Compare Zosimus, *Historiar.* ii. 30 seq.

¹⁰⁵ We need not here refer to the more recent meaning of the word *μίλιον*, which is synonymous with *μυλιαρήσιον*, and which occurs on a small coin. (Compare Codinus de *S. Sophia*, p. 136 seq. ed. Beck. Du Cange's *Glossary Med. et Infim. Græcit.* h. v. *Veteres Gloss. verb. Jur. v. Μυλιαρίσιον.* In Otto's *Thesaurus Jur. t. iii.* p. 1764.) Compare also the *Journal of the History of Law*, vol. xii. N. i. p. 12.

^{105a} Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶ The several passages of the Byzantine Historians are collected by Pithæus. loc. cit. and in Du Cange's *C-polis Christiana*, lib. i. pp. 72, 113 seq. See notes 6 and 48.

¹⁰⁷ The meaning of *Μυλιάριον* does not exactly correspond to the Latin expression *Miliarium*. See Du Cange's *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis*, h. v.

¹⁰⁸ *e. g.* Pithæus and Herrmann, loc. cit. (See note 6.)

^{108a} The criticism might be dispensed with, as the *Miliarium Aureum* in Rome is called by Dio Cassius, *Histor.* liv. 8. *τὸ χρυσοῦν μίλιον.*

¹⁰⁹ Codinus de Orig. C-polit. p. 15, 22; de Signis C-polit. p. 41. Procop. de Ædific. i. 10. Compare Du Cange, C-pol. Christ. lib. i. p. 64 seq. 70 seq.

¹¹⁰ c. 12 sec. 3. h. b. 8, 10.

¹¹¹ Aer. Britan. Lin. 68 seq. Compare the Author's Treatise on the Civil Law vol. 2, p. 296 seq. 307 seq.

¹¹² Theod. Cod. xv. 1, e. 22, e. 35: de Opp. Pub. Just. Cod. e. 20, e. 21. ib. 8, 12.

¹¹³ Theod. Cod. loc. cit. e. 52. Compare J. Gothofredus in Comm. ib.

¹¹⁴ See Du Cange C-polis. Christ. lib. 2, p. 109 seq.

¹¹⁵ Evagrius, loc. cit. iii. 28.

¹¹⁶ De Signis C-politan. pp. 41, 46.

¹¹⁷ e. 12. sees. 2, 3, h. t. 8, 10.

¹¹⁸ Compare Cujacius, Obs. xiii. 30. The careful distinction between *lumina* and *prospectus*, well observed in the language of the Roman jurists, is known to all. Fr. 16, Diss. de. S. P. V. 8, 2. Compare the Author's Manuale Latinit. v. *Lumen*, sec. 1, A. v. *Prospectus*, sec. 1.

¹¹⁹ e. 12, sec. 3, ib. 8, 10. Compare Havercamp, loc. cit. p. 53. See note 39.

¹²⁰ Harmenopolus, l. l. ii. 4, sec. 55, and the commentators on the passage. (Note 174 of the edition cited in note 19.)

¹²¹ loc. cit. ii. 8 (where the author is speaking of the *pseudisodomum*, or stone walls built in unequal layers), and iii. 2, iv. 7, (where mention is made of the pseudo-dipteros and pseudoperipteros.) Compare the commentators on these passages, e. g. A. Rode in his edition of Vitruvius, Berlin, 1800, 4°. Compare also Gloss. Placidi Grammat. (in A. Maii Collect. Auctor. Classie. t. iii. p. 495, Rom. 1831, 8°) v. *Pseudothyrum*.

¹²² e. 12, sec. 5, cod. tit. 8, 10.

¹²³ See note 81. Compare Festus. v. *Mæniana*; Isidor. Origin. xv. 3; Veter. Gloss. Verbor. Jur. v. *Σωλάριον*. (Otto's Thesaur. Jur. iii. p. 1806.)

¹²⁴ loc. cit. v. 7.

¹²⁵ Compare Cujacius Obs. i. 30, xiii. 30.

¹²⁶ In the Commentary of Aseonius on Cicero's Divinat. in Cæcil. e. 16, on the origin of the *mæniana*, we read the following description:—"Exceperat jus sibi unius columnæ, (sc. Mænius,) super quam tectum projiceret ex provolantibus tabulatis, unde ipse et posteri ejus spectare munus gladiatorium possent, quod etiam tum in foro dabatur." Compare Schol. ad Cic. p. Sextio, c. 58, sect. 4. (In A. Maii Classicor. Auctor. e Vatic. Codd. editor. t. ii. p. 152, Rom. 1828, 8°.)

¹²⁷ Loc. cit. vi. 10.

¹²⁸ Comp. E. Otto de Tutela Viarum, iii. 5, p. 481 seq.; Trajeeti ad Rh. 1731, 8°; Haubold, l. l. p. 442. See note 74.

¹²⁹ e. 12, sec. 5, l. 8, 10.

¹³⁰ Nov. 63, e. 1. Compare note 89 seq.

¹³¹ Compare the Author's Treatises on Civil Law, vol. ii. p. 295 seq.

¹³² Fr. i. sec. 14, 16, 17; Diss. de Oper. Novi Nunciat. 39, 1. Compare J. Rävardus, Conjectan. iii. 12.

¹³³ Fr. 48, Diss. eod. 39, 1. Compare Fr. 1, pr. de Jure Fisci, 49, 14.

¹³⁴ Fr. 52, Diss. de Contr. emt. 18, 1; Fr. 41, sec. 1 seq. Diss. de Legat. 1, (30.) Compare the Author's Scriptorum Histor. Aug. p. 152 seq. Leips. 1842, 8°.

¹³⁵ Fr. 11, sec. 14 Diss. de Legat. 3, (32.)

¹³⁶ Theod. Cod. xv. 1., c. 22, c. 25, c. 38 seq. c. 46 seq. De Opp. Pub.

A COLLECTION OF SOME OF THE BUILDING LAWS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(JUSTINIANI CODICIS LIB. VIII.)*

TIT. X. ON PRIVATE BUILDINGS.

1. *On Baths.* Severus and Antoninus, Imp. AA. to Taurus.—You are hereby empowered to build the bath, as you desire, and raise a building over it; but you must observe the same form which is prescribed for others who are allowed to build over a bath: that is, you must raise it upon arches, and it must be itself arched; nor must you exceed the usual height. P.P. (without date or consulship.)

2. *On the Non-destruction of Buildings.* Alexander, Imp. A. to Diogenes.—It is already prohibited, by an edict of the blessed Emperor Vespasian, and by a decree of the senate, to pull down buildings, and carry away the blocks of marble.† But an exception is made in favour of transferring such materials from one house to another. Yet it is not lawful even for proprietors so to conduct such removals, that the public appearance should be deteriorated by the demolition of whole buildings. P.P. 11 kal. Jan. Alexander, A. Cons. 223.

3. *On Ruined Buildings.* The same A. to Evocatus.—Whether it be allowable in the case of a whole house tumbling down, not to build it up again in the same form, but to convert it into a garden, and whether this may be done with the consent, as well of the magistrates offering no opposition, as of the neighbours;—Let the Præses take cognizance of the case; and when he has ascertained the practice of the town in disputes of this kind, let him order what is right. P.P. 7 kal. Apr. Julian. (2.) and Crispin. Cons. 225.

4. *On Buildings in common.* Philip. Imp. A. and Philip. C. to Victor.—If, as you submit to me, the co-proprietor of a building refuse to contribute his proportion of expense to its repair, you will not necessarily require any extraordinary aid. For if you complete the buildings at your own sole expense, and his proportion, together with interest, shall not have been reimbursed to you within four months after it has been demanded, or if the said co-proprietor should in any manner have prevented this from being done, you will be entitled to claim the right of property over the whole, or you will obtain it according to the precedent of ancient usage. P.P. 4 kal. Apr. Philip. A. and Titian. Cons. 246.

5. *On Baths built on joint Land.* Diocletian and Maximian, Imp. AA. and CC. to Octavius.—If he against whom you petition, being already cognizant that a part of the ground belongs to you, shall have attempted, not as your partner or colleague, and as therefore sharing in his anxiety for a work in which you are both interested, to restore the substantial construction of the baths, not with the view of receiving from you your portion of the expense, but that he may seize upon the whole property, and re-construct on his own account the building which has fallen down, the new structures which are thus erected on the ground of another person shall be forfeited to the proprietor of the ground, and the expense

* These Imperial Laws, of which an English version is now appended to H. E. Dirksen's paper, by the Translator, do not form a part of the original work. The titles &c. are taken from Gothofred's *Corpus Juris*. + (of which they are constructed, with a view to trade and profit.)

incurred for this iniquitous purpose need not be repaid to him. The Præses of the province, as the mindful guardian of the public law, the decree of the blessed Hadrian being obsolete,* will take care that the enactments of the law are observed in settling the dispute. P.P. 4 and 3 non. Oct. AA. Conss. 290.

6. *On the Removal of Marbles, &c.* Constantine, Imp. A. to Elpidius, Viccgerent, Prefect of the Province.—If any one after the passing of this law shall remove into the country, from the plundered city, any ornaments, (*i. e.* marbles or columns,) he shall lose the estate which he has thus enriched. But if any one should be desirous to remove from his own house in any one city to his own house in any other, the marbles or columns from walls in a falling state, as such an operation is likely to tend in a double manner to the decoration of the public property, he may freely do it. Power may also be given to transfer ornaments of this kind from property in one part† to another, although such removal should take place through walls, or though the objects be carried through the midst of the city—with this restriction, however, that that only which has been brought into the city be exported from it. Given at Viminæium, 6 kal. Jan. Crispus (2.) and Constantin. (2.) Conss. 321.

7. *On the Removal of Marbles, &c.* Julian, Imp. A. to Vitianus, the Vicar of Africa.—It shall not be lawful for any one to take away‡, or remove from, any of the provinces, columns or statues, of whatever material they may be. Given, 6 kal. Nov. Julian. A. (4.) and Salustius, Conss. 363.

8. *On the Duties of the Curiales and non-Curiales.* Valens, Gratian, and Valentin II. Imppp. AAA. to Modestus, Prefect of the Province.—Be it enacted, that the curiales of the several cities shall be obliged, even against their will, to repair the houses which were formerly within such cities, or to rebuild them anew, it being their duty ever to discharge the public offices there, and to increase the number of their inhabitants. But the proprietors of houses in cities where there are not curiales, shall be bound to repair them if neglected and dilapidated: this will be done under the control of the judicial authority specially superintending a compliance with this law. Given, 13 kal. Nov. Gratian. (4.) and Merobaud. Conss. 377.

9. *On the Space to be left between New and Old Buildings.* Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius, Imppp. AAA. to Aurelianus, Prefect of the City.—If the proprietor of a piece of ground near any public building is desirous of building upon it, he must begin by placing an interval of fifteen feet between the public and the private buildings: and he must be made to understand, that by this interval it is intended that the public buildings should be protected from harm, and that the private builder may avoid the loss of having to pull down, for having built on forbidden ground. Given, 10 kal. Nov. Arcadius, A. (6.) and Probus, Conss. 406.

10. *On the Construction of enclosing Walls.* Honorius and Theodosius, Impp. AA. to Monaxius, Prefect of the Province.—Permission is hereby given to all who wish it, throughout the provinces of Mesopotamia, Osdrœna, the Euphrates, the Second Syria, Phœnicia, Libanus, the Second Cilicia, both the Armenias, both the Cappadoeias, the Pontus of Polemon, and the Hellespont, and to all other provinces, where it may be desired, to surround with a wall their own possessions, or constituted places of dominion. Given at Constantinople, 3 non. Maji. Theodosius, A. (9.) and Constantin. (3.) Conss. 420.

* *antiquato D. Hadriani edicto.*

† (*of the province.*)

‡ *auferri, not afferre.*

11. *On Mœniana.* The same AA. to Severinus, Prefect of the Province.—Mœniana, which the Greeks commonly call *τειχιόστῆς*, whether those already built, or those which may hereafter be built in the provinces, unless there shall be ten feet of clear space between them, shall be absolutely demolished; but in those places where private buildings are placed facing the public granaries, owing to the obstruction of these mœniana, intervals of fifteen feet must be preserved. We announce also to those who are about to build, that they must all observe these intervals for the future, so that if any one shall attempt to build within the prescribed limits—*i. e.*, ten feet for ordinary structures, and fifteen feet in the case of there being mœniana,—he must be apprised that not only will all that he has so constructed be pulled down, but the house itself will be forfeited to the Fise. Given, 3 kal. Oct. Asclepiodotus and Marinianus, Conss. 423.

LAWS OF THE EMPEROR ZENO.

12. *Preface.*—Zeno, Imp. A. to Adimantius, Prefect of the City.—Ever since we began to be in the enjoyment of a state of peace, and doing our utmost to preserve our subjects* from external wars, we have applied our mind to the enactment of various useful laws. Amongst these, we have determined to include the present law, in which we propose clearly to exhibit what your excellency† has suggested; and, adopting every precaution to prevent any possible ambiguity of expression, we have also avoided as much as we could technical words, preferring the use of the more vulgar terms, in order that all whom it may concern may understand it without the assistance of an interpreter. For we have been informed by your excellency‡ that the divine law, enacted by Leo, our predecessor,§ of immortal memory, concerning those who might be ambitious of building in this our glorious city, is in some parts of it doubtful, in consequence of the mistaken opinions of its interpreters.

— Sect. I. *On the Space requisite to be left by him who builds.*—We therefore ordain, that neither those who wish to repair their houses, (nor those who intend to build anew,) shall depart from the previous forms, nor shall they take any light or prospect from their neighbours, unless in accordance with the original structure; but we are pleased to add also, what extent of right may be acquired by the builder of each new house, in cases where he may have obtained the power, either by contract or other stipulation, to change, if he pleases, the old form. We accordingly authorise him, if such contract or stipulation should be in his favour, to build according to such contract or stipulation, even though by so doing he may seem to injure such of his neighbours as might have objected to the contract.

— Sect. II. *On the Height to which it is permitted to raise a House.*—Moreover, since our constitution directs that an interval of twelve feet must be left by him who is about to build, between his own and his neighbour's house, and that he may add to it *more or less*,—(as this gives great security to those who build), and as no doubtful or ambiguous words ought to be admitted,—we ordain, in the most clear and explicit terms, that an interval of twelve feet must be left between each house, beginning from the part immediately above the foundations, the same ad-measurement being preserved to the very summit of the building. He who shall accordingly in future observe this ordinance, will be allowed to raise his house

* *populos nostros.*+ *tua magnificentia.*‡ *magnitudo tua.*§ *pater.*

as high as he pleases, and may construct windows, as well those which we call prospective,* as those which are only luminiferous,† according to the said divine constitution, whether he is desirous of erecting a new house, or of reinstating an old one, or of re-constructing one which has been destroyed by fire. He shall, however, be in nowise permitted to encroach upon the prescribed interval, so as to deprive his neighbour of a direct and uninterrupted prospect towards the sea, from any or every side of his house—a prospect which he may enjoy at home either standing or sitting; nor can he be allowed in any such manner to affect this prospect, so that his neighbour should have only an oblique view of the sea. In respect to gardens and trees, the former constitutions contain no regulations regarding them, nor will any be given on this occasion—they are not required.

— Sect. III. *On Windows.*—No one who is building a house near a cross-road, alley, or street, of twelve feet in width, shall be allowed to take from, and add to his own building, any portion of such street or cross-road. But in prescribing the interval of twelve feet between the houses, we do not intend to diminish that which of right belongs to the public, or to divide it amongst private proprietors, but we are desirous of preventing that such intervals between the houses be made more narrow. But if the space exceeds twelve feet, the same must remain as it is, for our intention is not that the width of the streets should be diminished, but that the rights of the city should be preserved. But if the previous form of the old building was such that the interval between two houses was less than twelve feet, the owner must not be allowed to raise his house beyond what it has been heretofore, nor must he construct any windows, unless he gives an interval of at least ten feet.

But in such case, he who is about to build cannot make any prospect windows, except such as were there before; but he may make luminiferous windows, provided he preserves an interval of six feet upwards from the floor. He must, however, in no case, venture to make what is called a *pseudopatum*, (that is, a false or fictitious flooring or pavement in the building itself,‡) and then from the real floor measure his six feet to the luminiferous windows. This would be a false and sophistical construction of the law, and a mere pretence of obeying it. For if this were to be permitted, it would happen, by the introduction of such *pseudopatum*, that the luminiferous windows would be used as if they were prospective, and there would be no difference between them. This would be a decided nuisance to his neighbour, and we therefore prohibit it to be done, and forbid the builders so to act, even should they attempt to procure the right by virtue of any agreement or stipulation.

— Sect. IV. *On the Right of Prospect.*—Moreover, since it has been judged expedient to give permission by a former law to raise the height of houses rebuilt after a fire to the extent of one hundred feet, even if the neighbour should thereby be shut out from his prospect of the sea,—in order to prevent any doubt upon the subject, we ordain that this power shall hold good in favour of those which are renewed after a conflagration, as of those which did not exist before, and are now built for the first time. But in respect to those which have suffered no injury from fire, but have become decayed from the effect of time, or any other cause, and all other kind of houses, if an open interval of one hundred feet is left between them and their neighbours, they may be erected free of all impediment, even although

* *prospectiva.*

† *lucifera.*

‡ (under the window.)

they may deprive others of the sea view. But such sea view may be taken from kitchens, privies, closets, staircases, passages leading to bye-alleys, or from courts for carriages, although the new buildings may not have such intervals of a hundred feet, provided only that the interval be not less than twelve feet. These regulations must be observed in all cases, where there is no special agreement in favour of the party building. But neighbours who build in virtue of such special agreements, may build according to the manner determined between themselves. They are in such case allowed to construct houses in the space not reserved, although they may deprive of the sea view those who have given their consent and made the agreement, or their successors; for it is not right to take away by a general law competent rights, which have accrued legally to others.

— Sect. V. *On Solaria, Mœniana, and Staircases.*—This, also, we decree to be observed as law. That no *solaria* shall hereafter be built entirely of wood or planks; but they must all be constructed after the manner and form of those which are called *Romanensia*, and a space of ten feet must be left between any two opposite solaria. If the narrowness of the street does not admit of this interval, the solaria must then be built ἐκ παραλλαγῆς, i. e., not facing each other, or ἐκ παραλλήλου, but alternating one with the other, transversely and obliquely. But if such interval does not exceed ten feet, no solaria or *mœniana* at all can be allowed to be built, whether facing each other directly, or only obliquely. When, however, they shall be erected in conformity with the preceding regulations, we ordain that they be elevated at least fifteen feet from the ground, and the pillars which support them, whether of wood or stone, must be so fixed in the ground as not to stand κατὰ κάθετον, or perpendicularly; so that neither the wall, nor the void space which is beneath those solaria built above, as we have described, be encroached upon, nor the alley or public road be made more narrow. We forbid also that steps shall commence from the level of the footway and lead up to the solaria: so that by the greater care and precaution thus employed, a greater distance between the solaria may be obtained, peril to the city and to the inhabitants of houses may be diminished, and fires may become less frequent, of less duration, and more easily extinguished. If, however, solaria or steps should be erected in any manner contrary to this our law, not only shall they be forthwith demolished, but the owner of the house shall pay a fine or penalty of ten pounds of gold; and the architect who designed, or he who received commission for the work,* shall pay other ten pounds of gold; and if the workman† who executed it shall not be able, through poverty, to pay the fine, his punishment shall be no less than banishment from the city.

— Sect. VI. *On the Colonnades of Public Porticoes and Areas.* Moreover, we ordain that no one shall be allowed to obstruct with buildings the numerous rows of columns which are erected in the public porticoes and areas‡ leading from that which is called *Milium* to the Capitol: or by setting up close boarding, or any other construction, among the columns. But any such buildings§ must not exceed six feet in width, inclusive of the wall towards the open street, and they must not be more than seven feet in height. But in every case we will that a free way from the porticoes to the streets, through four rows of columns, be set

* *qui designavit architectus, aut qui opus recepit.* + *artifex*: probably the builder. ‡ *Stationes*. § (as are at present existing.)

apart:* shops or booths of this description must be ornamented, on the outside at least, with marble, that they may be an ornament to the city, and give pleasure to the passers-by. But in all other quarters of the city we allow the erection of shops amongst the columns, as far as, and in whatever manner, you think they may be useful to the city—the strictest impartiality being observed, so that whatever is permitted to one person be not prohibited to another.

— Sect. VII. *On Lawsuits raised against Persons building.* We ordain, also, as follows, with a view to prevent our just and honest citizens from being injured by the tricks and machinations of litigious persons.† It frequently happens that when such persons are about to build, vexatious lawsuits are got up against them, not for any injury done, but from sheer envy, and with a view to create delays: for example,—that they may oblige one who has begun to build to suspend his operations, and leave his work half finished, they drag him into a court of justice, and make him spend in law the money he had laid aside for building, and (what is the most prejudicial of all), when he shall have got a sentence in his favour, they still hold him bound by the most indissoluble chains, whilst, under pretence of an appeal, he is kept expecting the appointed term,‡ and all the while the adversary is enjoying his disappointment, and the interruption of the building.

We enjoin, therefore, in cases of this kind, that if the appeal is made from the decision of an arbiter, as soon as ever the notice has been laid before the judge, or the form of the appeal reduced to writing, it shall be lawful for either the appellant or the appellee, without being strictly bound to observe the legal period of appeal, to address themselves to your excellency,§ either alone or with the adverse party; and if this adverse party does not make his appearance after being duly summoned, the controversy shall come to a close, so that, without any further delay, the suit shall be legally put an end to, in order that the party who has been unjustly prohibited from proceeding with his building may not suffer irreparable mischief, if forced, during present or approaching winter, to wait a long period for the stated days of appeal.

Moreover, that which is most important,—if any one, in cases of this kind, should complain of your excellency's sentence, and be desirous of appealing, we ordain that a consultation shall be immediately held, and either of the parties, appellant or defendant, shall be entitled to have the sentence more accurately discussed within the precincts of our own sacred palace, and without delay. Whoever shall be so presumptuous as to put impediments in the way of persons building, should be informed, that if they lose their cause, they will have to make good all loss which shall have been sustained, and will moreover have to replace the price of materials, which will probably have been spoiled or deteriorated in the delay caused by the law-suit.

But in respect to those who shall have attempted to build contrary to law, if these are defeated in the suit, they will have to refund the losses or injuries of the person who denounced it, and who was therefore obliged to attend the pleadings.

All controversies of this kind we direct to be decided by your excellency ||

* *per quatuor columnarum ordines*: probably signifying three *intercolumniations*.

† *calumniantium*.

§ *tua magnificentia*.

‡ *fatales dies*.

|| *magnitudo tua*.

alone, nor do we allow them to be heard before any of the other illustrious magistrates, nor do we permit those who litigate on these questions to plead public service, either military or civil, for refusing judgment, nor to be excused the payment of expenses and losses, which shall be decreed in the sentence of the most illustrious* Prefect of the city, or by the decree of the officer appointed by him; but we will that those who have lost their suit by your excellency's† sentence, shall be answerable in all things, no one alleging, for purposes of exemption, the prescription of the Forum.

— Sect. VIII. *On the finishing of a Work left incomplete.* Your excellency will also take care that no contractor, or smith, or workman, shall leave a work begun by him till it is finished; but, as he has received the price of the work, he shall be obliged to complete it; or he must make good every loss which the person desirous of building may expect to suffer from it, as well as every farther loss ensuing from its not having been finished. But if he who shall have incurred this penalty shall be unable from poverty to advance it, he must be beaten with rods, and expelled from the town. No one shall be prohibited from completing work begun by another, an opinion which we know to have been entertained by some workmen, or contractors, who would neither finish what they had themselves commenced, nor allow others to complete it, and thus bring very heavy losses on those who wish to build their own houses. He, therefore, who refuses on this account to finish a work which was begun by another, shall pay the same penalty as is incurred by him who abandons the work begun by himself.

13. *On the above Law of the Emperor Zeno.* Justinian, Imp. A. to Joannes, Prefect of the Province.—Doubts having been entertained whether the constitution of Zeno, of blessed memory, which was addressed to Amantius,‡ prefect of the city, and which treats of services,§ was only local, and exclusively applied to this most flourishing city; and that these (ordinances) were only to be observed here, but that the old ordinances, which are of a different purport, still hold good in the provinces,—we, being of opinion that it is unworthy of this period, that one law should be observed in this our royal city, and another amongst our provincial cities, do hereby decree that the same constitution shall be held valid throughout all the cities of the Roman empire, and that everything relating to it shall be regulated thereby; and if, by any enactment in that law, innovations shall have been made upon the old arrangement, the same shall be observed by the prefects in their respective provinces; all former ordinances, not altered by the Zenonic constitution, remaining as before under the old laws. Given at Constantinople, kal. Sept.,|| after the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes. V.V. C.C. 531.

TIT. XI.—ON THE INJUNCTION OF A NEW WORK.

1. *If the Denunciator of any new Building is prepared to show cause, let him be heard, and the cause be enquired into, and Judgment pronounced within Three Months.* Justinian, Imp. A. to Joannes, Prefect of the Province.—It has come to our knowledge¶ that some doubts have been hitherto entertained respecting the injunction of

* *glorississimi.*

† *magnificentia tua.*

‡ *Adimantius.*

§ *servitutibus* (with respect to property).

|| (the first year)

¶ *nostra tranquillitas.*

a new work ; and it has been said, that if any one has issued an injunction to prohibit a work, he cannot, after the lapse of a year, again prohibit the proceeding with the building. There seems to us to be a double injustice in this conclusion ; for if he has unjustly prohibited the work, such prohibition ought not to last for a whole year : if it has been done rightly, he should be at liberty to prohibit it also after the expiration of the year. To prevent, therefore, this unjust version of the law, we decree that if any one shall have issued the injunction in this royal city, the prefect of the city shall hasten a decision ; and in any of the provinces, the governor* shall determine it within the space of three months ; but if any kind of impediment shall arise, so as to delay the decision of the difficulty, permission shall be given to him who is anxious to proceed in the building, to do what is required, after he shall have given proper securities to the office of the prefect of the city or of the province,—*That in case it shall be decided that he has built contrary to law, he will at his own expense pull down all which he had erected subsequent to the injunction.* In this manner, works will not be prohibited by futile denunciations, and the rights of those who apply for the injunction will be duly consulted. Given at Constantinople, 12 kal. Nov. the second year after the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, VV. CC. 532.

TIT. XII.—ON PUBLIC WORKS.

1. *On Immunity.* Constantius and Constans, Impp. AA. to Catulinus.—Many persons have obtained immunities from public works by awards of the judges. We, therefore, order that all immunities hereafter so obtained shall be of no value. Given at Sirmium, 6 kal. Aug. Ursus (Lupulus,) and Polemius, Conss. 338.

2. *On the Statement of Expenses incurred.* The same AA. to Marcellinus, Count of the East.—Whatever expense shall have been incurred for public works, you will take care that an account be kept. Given at Constantinople, 5 non. Oct. Limenius and Catulinus, Conss. 349.

3. *On the Cross and Holy Relics.* The Epitome of a Greek Constitution.—No monk, nor any one else, shall erect a cross, or any holy relics, in a public place, or where public shows are exhibited.

4. *On the Prætoria and Public Buildings.* The same AA. to Eedicius, Prefect of Egypt.—Care must be taken to preserve (at all times) for the rights and use of the public, the *prætoria* of the judges and all public buildings. P.P. at Antioch, 4 non. Dec. Mamertinus and Nevitta, Conss. 362.

5. *On the Judges.* Valentinian and Valens, Impp. AA. to Symmachus, Prefect of the City.—Let no one of the judges project any new work within the city of Rome (the new city as well as the old) † without our special approbation, (unless he is willing to defray the expenses of it from his own resources.) But we give permission to all of them to sanction the re-construction of those which are affirmed to be in a state of dilapidation and ruin. Given at Philippi, 8 kal. Jun. Divus Jovian. and Varronian. Conss. 364.

6. *On Prescriptions of Time and Rescripts.* Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, Imppp. AAA. to Proculus.—Prescription of time ought not to obstruct a public right, nor should even imperial rescripts be allowed to operate in such manner : and therefore all buildings ought to be demolished which, throughout the various

* *Rector.*

† Constantinople, as in Rome ?

cities of the empire, either in the Forum or in any public place whatsoever, are acknowledged to have been erected (without regard to beauty or utility, or the decent appearance of the city.)* Given at Constantinople, 3 id. Jun. Merobaudes and Saturninus, Conss. 383.

7. *From what Works the Prescription of Dignities does not exempt.* The same AAA. to Cynegius, Prefect of the Province.—All people are bound in duty to give their earnest aid in the construction and repairs of harbours, aqueducts, (and walls,) nor should any one claim the privilege of being excused from bearing his part in a labour of this nature. Given at Constantinople, 15 kal. Feb. Richomeres and Clearchus, Conss. 384.

8. *On the Failure of Buildings.* The same AAA. to Cynegius, Prefect of the Province.—All persons who have been entrusted with the care of public buildings, or to whom money has been in the usual manner entrusted for erecting them, must, with their heirs, be held responsible for the same for fifteen years from the completion of the work: so that if any fault or failure shall have occurred in the building within that prescribed term, it must be repaired from their estates or patrimony (excepting, of course, what may be the effect of accident.) Given at Constantinople, 3 non. Febr. Arcadius, A. (1.) and Bauton, Conss. 385.

9. *Whether Houses may be destroyed for the sake of erecting Public Buildings.* Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, Imppp. AAA. to Aurelian, Prefect of the City.—Whenever we shall have granted permission to erect a public structure, your excellency† will take care that provision be made, that no house is to be pulled down for the purpose of beginning any public building, unless compensation be given to the value of fifty pounds of silver. But with respect to buildings of a higher value, let the matter be brought before us, and referred to our decision, that when a larger sum may be required, the imperial authority may act. Given at Constantinople, 3 kal. Mar. Theodosius. A. (3.) and Abundantius, Conss. 393.

10. *On the Inscription of Names.* The same AAA. to Rufinus, Prefect of the Province.—If any judges shall have inscribed their names on any work completed (with public money) without mention of our name, let them be guilty of treason. Given at Constantinople, 3 non. Jul. Arcadius (3.) and Honorius (2.) AA. Conss. 394.

11. *On the Repair of the Public Walls and Baths.* Arcadius and Honorius, Impp. AA. to Eusebius, Count of the Sacred Largesses.—In order to prevent the destruction of the very splendid cities and towns of the empire, we assign one third part of the revenues of estates belonging to the Republic for the repair of their walls and baths. Given at Milan, 11 kal. Jul. Olybrius and Probinus, Conss. 395.

12. *On the Walls of the City.* The same AA. to Cæsarius, Prefect of the Province—Let all governors‡ of provinces be admonished by letters, that they do assure themselves that the several orders and inhabitants of every city ought to build their Walls anew, or to strengthen those already built; and the charges are to be regulated on the following conditions, namely, that the apportionments be assigned according to the means of each individual; that the lands of the citizens be taxed according to the estimated expense of the work to be undertaken, so that neither

* *contra ornatum, et commodum, ac decoram faciem civitatis exstructa nascuntur.*

† *sublimis magnificentia tua.*

‡ *Rectores.*

more nor less than what is required shall be raised, and that no time be lost in putting it in hand. Its fair and just proportion must be laid upon every (productive) acre, that all may equally provide for the expense required. (No excuse will be allowed, nor any claim for immunity will be listened to.) Given 9 kal. Apr. Arcadius, (4.) and Honorius, (3.) AA. Conss. 396.

13. *On the Judges and Corporations of the City.* The same AA. to Theodorus, Prefect of the Province.—Let no one of our judges so far presume upon his office as to order the commencement of any new work without consulting our authority;* nor let him dare, without your excellency's sanction, to take down from the public works any ornaments or marbles, or anything of that nature which shall have been esteemed to be either useful or ornamental to the state, or to remove them to any other place. If any one shall act contrary to this order, he shall be fined six pounds of gold; and the like penalty shall be incurred by the several orders of the citizens, unless they protect the embellishments of their native place,† under the authority of this decree. But the judges of the provinces may, by their own authority, undertake such buildings as shall serve for granaries or hosteleries,‡ if moved by such laudable devotion to the public good. Given at Milan, (3) kal. Jan. Honorius (4.) and Eutychianus, Conss. 398.

14. *What Buildings may be destroyed.* The same AA. to Severus, Prefect of the City.—If any structures, such as are commonly called *parapetasia*, or any other description of building, be so attached to the walls, or to any public buildings, as to endanger the neighbourhood, in respect to fire or thieving, or so as to reduce the extent of the streets or the width of the porticoes, our order is that they shall be destroyed and razed. Given at Constantinople, 6. id. Oct. Honorius A. (4.) and Eutychianus, Conss. 398.

15. *If the Prince may grant a Deed of Gift of any Public Building.* The same AA. to Eutychianus, Prefect of the Province.—In the event of any persons requesting from our bounty the gift of any public work or building, they shall not be granted to him unless they are in a state of absolute ruin, and of little or no use to the city. All rescripts of this kind are to be forwarded to the judgment of your illustrious office. Given, id. Dec. Honorius A. (4.) and Eutychianus, Conss. 398.

16. *On the Statues of the Prince.* The same AA. to Æmilian, Prefect of the Province.—If at any time the public service should require that porticoes or other structures, failing from old age, or shattered by fortuitous causes, should undergo a thorough repair, it shall be lawful, even without application to us,§ to remove from such building either our own statues, or those of our predecessors, provided it be done with proper care and respect,|| and when the building is repaired they shall be again restored to their proper places. Given at Constantinople, 5 kal. Jul. Arcadius A. (6.) and Probus, Conss. 406.

17. *No Portion of the Ground of a Public Palace may be occupied by Private Buildings.* Honorius and Theodosius AA. to Monaxius, Prefect of the Province.—Wherever any portion of ground within the Palatium of the city has been inconveniently occupied by private buildings, all such buildings shall be forthwith pulled

* *pictate nostra.*

+ *genitalis patria.*

‡ *stabulum.*

§ *nostra clementia.*

|| *cum reverentia.*

down, and the ground be restored to the palace, which ought in nowise to be straitened by the structures of private individuals. For it is an imperial privilege to be acknowledged by, and due from all persons, that those habitations should be reserved for us, which have been selected by our lawful authority, and according to the statutes of the Republic. Every such act of usurpation for the future must be prohibited. Given at Constantinople, 9 kal. Mar. Honorius, (8.) and Theodosius, (3.) AA. Conss. 409.

18. *On the Towers on the Walls, for the Defence of the City.* The same AA. to Anthemius.—The work being now complete, we direct that the towers of the new wall, which has been built for the better defence of the most splendid city, under the superintendence of your excellency, and by our authority, shall be assigned to the use and accommodation of those through whose lands it has been carried. The same also is to be a perpetual decree, with the condition, that those who thus become entitled to the use of these towers shall be bound to keep them in due repair at their own expense. Being in the enjoyment of a public property, they must be aware that the repairs and care of it must belong to them. In this manner, the beauty of the work and the defence of the city will be combined with the benefit and convenience of individuals. Given, prid. non. Apr. Lucius, V. C. Cons. 413.

19. *On the Rents of Houses and Shops in the Portico of Zeuxippus.* The same AA. to Severinus, Prefect of the Province.—As many private houses with their shops are said to exist in the portico of Zeuxippus, we ordain that the rents of the same, according to their number, shall, without any reserve, be appropriated to the maintenance of the lights, to the repairs of the buildings and roofs, and to the Baths of this royal city. Given, 5. id. Jan. Victor, V. C. Cons. 424.

20. *On Alleys and Porticoes.* Theodosius and Valentinian. Impp. AA. to Cyrus, Prefect of the City.—Those persons who, without the authority of the divine rescript, to be addressed to your excellency's* judgment, have blocked up with their own private houses any lanes, either entirely or in part, or who have trespassed upon the porticoes, shall (by this our enactment) render to the most holy city its former rights; and a penalty of fifty pounds (of gold) shall be imposed upon any who shall hereafter be bold enough to attempt a similar encroachment. Given, kal. Nov. Theodosius, A. (17.) and Festus, Conss. 439.

21. *On the Basilica.* The same AA. to Cyrus, Prefect of the City.—We ordain that the gilded Basilica, which is also decorated with marble slabs, shall for ever remain free and unincumbered, and that it shall not be concealed and obscured† by the addition of any statue or painted portraits in honour of any one, nor shall any stalls or workshops, consisting of frame-work, be erected in any part of the said basilica. We also decree, that no horses shall be admitted into it, nor any nuptials be celebrated within its walls. Given at Constantinople, 11 kal. Feb. Valentinian. A. (5.) and Anatolius, Conss. 440.

22. *If New Works may be commenced before former ones are completed.* Leo, Imp. A. to Erythrius.—It shall not be lawful for any one of the judges in this noble city, or in the provinces, to commence any new works before he shall have done his utmost, and with due diligence and earnestness, to complete those which were begun by

* *tuae celsitudinis.*

+ *obumbratione fuscari.*

his immediate or more remote predecessors, and which may have perished from age, or have been abandoned through carelessness. More merit and praiseworthiness will result from thus restoring to a state of neatness and perfection what are decaying from age, and require repair, and which, being commenced by others, have been left by them half finished. Given at Constantinople, 11 kal. Mar. Martian. and Zeno, Conss. 469.

TIT. XIII.—ON THE EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC WORKS, AND ON THE
ELDERS (PATRES) OF THE CITY.

1. *The Rectors of the Provinces and other Dignitaries are forbidden to destroy any of the Public Works, and to receive even a single grain of the Moneys appropriated to such Works, as they have formerly done. The Defenders of the City are required to look to the fulfilment of this.* Zeno, Imp. A. to Arcadius, Prefect of the Province.—We command all and each of the governors of the provinces, and the respectable judges of each diocese,—that is to say, the augustal prefect, the count of the east, and both the proconsuls and the vicars, together with their *apparitors*, according to the tenour of the general arrangements within the limits of your illustrious government,* that they shall abstain from destroying any of the public buildings or aqueducts, which have been, or which may hereafter be, erected from the income of the cities, or from any source whatever of voluntary liberality; and that they shall not, at any time, or in any manner, impair the civic revenues, or public works executed, or to be executed, by appropriating to themselves a single grain from any of the moneys so laid out, or by receiving any gain; the same sums being made over to the fathers of the cities, and to their care. If, however, any persons shall engage to execute any public work at their own expense,—although they promised to do so of their own free will, it is nevertheless certain that they are bound by legal obligation to act up to their promise, and to fulfil their engagement by the completion of such work,—yet we grant to them, that neither they, nor their heirs, shall ever be exposed to any inconvenience or molestation for alleged non-fulfilment of their promise, in any manner, or at any time, either by way of forfeit, or by compulsion to complete. If, however, any governor of a province, or his officers, by wasting the public revenues, or by neglecting, in despite of our orders, the public works, shall take to his own use a single grain from the revenues, or shall in any manner transgress the commands of this most sacred law, the five chiefs of the office shall be condemned to perpetual exile, and shall forfeit all their property to the city which they shall have injured; moreover, the governor† of the province shall be mulcted in the penalty of fifty pounds of gold. To the same punishment shall also be subject the illustrious judges, (however high their situation,)+‡ and all their official servants, (as aforesaid.) Given—§

* *magnificæ tuæ sedis.*

+ *Rector.*

‡ *Spectabilibus Judicibus (licet illustri dignitate fuerint decorati.)*

§ (No date.)

XXVI.

ON THE LOST GROUP
OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.¹

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF CARREY'S DRAWING, EXECUTED IN 1674.

"Cependant, je ne puis pas le dissimuler, j'aime à me représenter ces magnifiques ouvrages dans leur primitif état. Malgré moi, mon imagination les remplace dans leur ensemble, avec tous les détails, et tous leurs accompagnemens, et il me semble que toute tentative qui produiroit une partie de cet effet, serviroit utilement les intérêts de l'art."

QUATREMERE DE QUINCY.

"The universally acknowledged pre-eminence of the sculptures of Phidias, is a reason why we should endeavour to derive as many deductions and conclusions as possible with regard to their pristine character; and the greater the genius which produced them, the more important does it become, accurately to comprehend the thoughts and intentions, as expressed both in the whole and in all its particulars."

WELCKER.

I HAVE been encouraged by the above quotation from the admirable *Lettres à Canova*, by that enthusiastic and eloquent artist, M. Quatremère de Quincy, to venture upon a subject, from which I might otherwise have been deterred by the very different opinions of other writers.⁽²⁾

¹ The accompanying engravings have been copied from the copper-plates of the Eastern and Western pediments, as restored by Professor Cockerell, and published by the Trustees of the British Museum, who have very kindly lent them for that purpose; and I take this opportunity of thanking them, to express my obligations to Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Newton, and other friends, for several valuable suggestions. The western pediment exhibits only one or two trifling alterations, but the eastern has been entirely re-arranged. In submitting this design to the public, it is necessary to apologise for any defects, whether of drawing or composition, which it may exhibit; and to beg the reader to consider that it is formed, not from any description of the sculptures, not with any idea that it represents the actual works of Phidias, but simply as an illustration of the text, and as founded solely upon incidental notices in the poets, upon vase paintings, and other monuments.

² "Après avoir vu la difficulté qu'il-y-a de rendre compte des figures même

No small degree of credit is due to the accurate Stuart for having been the first who perceived that the eastern end of the Parthenon formed the front of the building. Dr. Spon, Sir George Wheler, M. de Nointel and others, in looking at the sculpture of the western pediment, which was then, with the exception of the statue of Minerva, tolerably perfect, all believed that what was before their eyes was not existing, and that what was destroyed was visible before them. This mistake arose from the almost total destruction of the eastern pediment, and the meagre description of the temple given us by Pausanias. The figure of Minerva in the western pediment having fallen, led these persons to suppose that the statue of Neptune represented Jupiter, and thus not only each individual statue in this pediment was misinterpreted, and those remaining of the eastern pediment equally misunderstood, but the very plan and arrangement of the building was not comprehended. Notwithstanding the opinion and authority of Stuart, and more recently of Visconti, the French interpreters of the *Antiquities of Athens* reverted again to the former error, which opinion was also accepted by one of the most distinguished antiquaries of the present day; and it was not till 1825, when M. Quatremère de Quincy published his *Restitution des deux Frontons du Temple de Minerve à Athènes*, that Stuart's opinion was ultimately established and confirmed.

The leading cause of all this error was the ruined state of the eastern pediment. Long before the damage occasioned by the Venetian bombardment, we find in the drawings by Nointel,

qui restent, on voit combien il doit être plus difficile encore de rendre compte de celles qui ont cessé d'exister. Il faut même avouer que de semblables projets de restitutions, quoique utiles aux artistes comme études, doivent être exclus d'ouvrages de la nature de celui dont il est ici question."—MILLINGEN, *Annal. dell' Inst. di Corr.* iv. 207.—"The attempt to *infer* the treatment and details of the alto-relievo group which once occupied the eastern pediment, from the fragments of it which remain, would be as futile an enterprise, as that to reconstruct an Athenian tragedy from a few broken lines."—CHR. WORDSWORTH. *Athens and Attica*, 8vo. Lond. 1836, p. 116.

taken in 1674, the centre of the pediment is one large void: and in 1676, Spon and Wheler write—"The postick or hind-front" (as called by them) "was adorned with figures, expressing" (as supposed by them) "Minerva's contest with Neptune about naming the city of Athens; but now all of them are fallen down, only part of a sea-horse" (a horse's head) "excepted."⁽¹⁾ The destruction of the eastern pediment was caused by the Christians, who had pulled down a portion of the pronaos of the temple, in order to make room for the absis of their church.

M. de Quincy did not content himself with proving the eastern extremity to be the front of the temple; but he projected an imaginary restoration of the composition of its pediment, based upon an observation of Visconti's.⁽²⁾ It is due to this distinguished architect and antiquary (M. De Quincy), that we give the chain of reasoning which he adduces in support of his argument:—

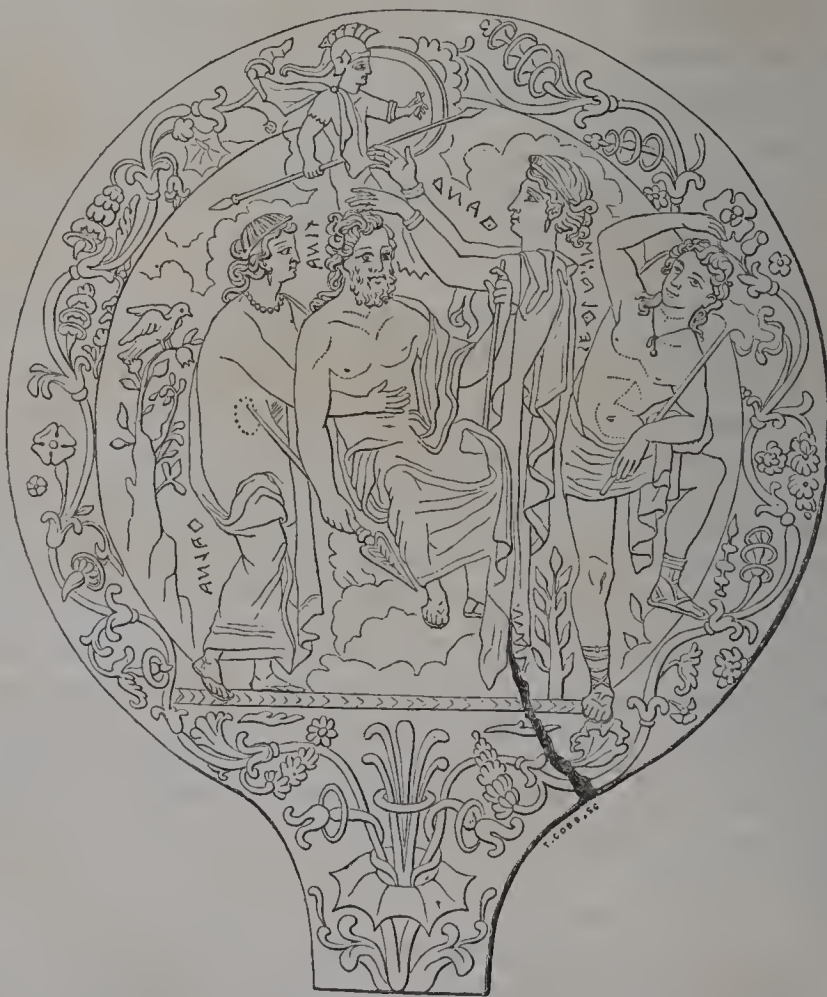
"The mythological origin or birth of the divinities formed, if we may so say, the foundation of pagan religion; and the theogony, the source of all fable, was in some measure the element of their creed. Nothing was more common in works of art than these theogonic representations. On the base of the statue of Minerva, by Phidias, in the interior of the Parthenon, that sculptor represented the birth of twenty divinities, '*viginti dii nascentes*,' among others that of Pandora.⁽³⁾ Would it not have been most natural for Phidias, charged with the sculptures of the Parthenon, to choose for the subject of the principal front of his temple, the birth of her to whom it was dedicated? How can we suppose that Phidias, who must have been acquainted with the marvellous story of her birth, the details of which are still remembered by all the world, would not have seized this idea for the principal subject, and represented it under those circumstances which would render it apparent to the spectators? We must, then, allow that the worshippers of Minerva, with whom the miracle of her birth was an article of faith, would never have been induced, so complacently as Spon and Wheler, to accept the presentation of the daughter, mentioned by no ancient writer, for the accouchement of Jupiter, sung by all the poets.

¹ WHELER'S *Journey into Greece*, p. 360-364.

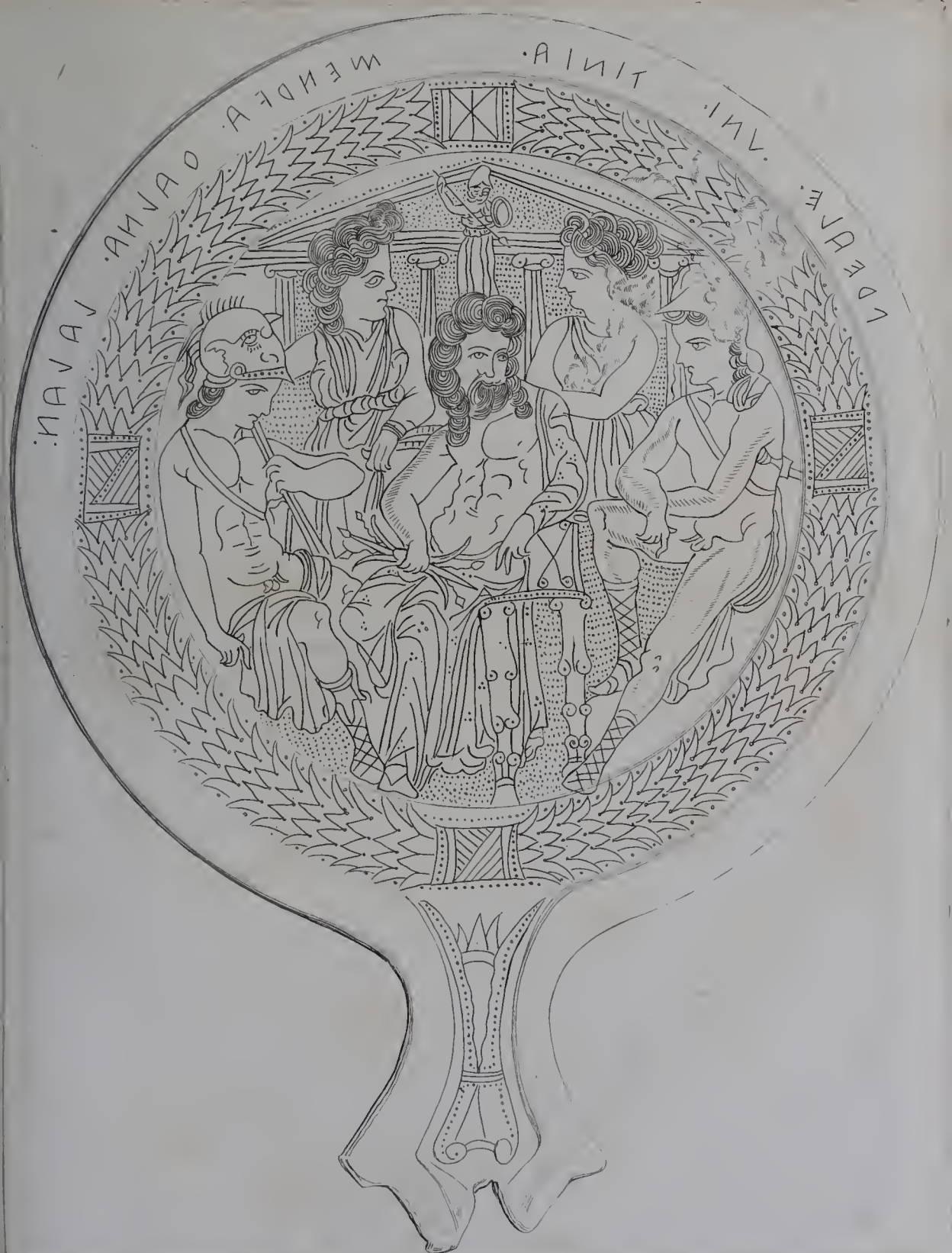
² "Toutes les figures qui appartoient au centre de la composition, dont les principales repréentoient Minerve tout armée, sortant de la tête de Jupiter, avoient disparus depuis un tems immémorial."—VISCONTI, *Mémoire sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture qui appartoient au Parthenon*, 8vo. Lond. 1816, p. 38.

³ PLIN. *H. N.* xxxvi. 5.

"In the Museum at Bologna is an ancient Etruscan patera" (mirror)¹ "representing the birth of Minerva, the treatment of which is so conformable to the ancient myths, that I cannot imagine any composition which would be more suited for the centre of the pediment. It represents the birth of Minerva, who issues from the head of Jupiter. The goddess has the helmet on her head, the buckler on her arm, and a spear in her hand. Jupiter is seated, holding the sceptre in one hand, in the manner of a spear, and the thunderbolt in the other. On each side of the goddess is a woman. On his right is the deity called Diana, Juno or Lucina, whose two arms are elevated, and who seems by the action of one of her hands to have assisted at the operation of the extraordinary childbirth. On the left of Jupiter is Venus, recognisable by her half-naked attire, a sprig of myrtle, and a dove. Behind Juno Lucina is Vulcan, still armed with the axe which has cleft the head of the god, and seeming to regard with admiration the success of his operations.



¹ It is published by Dempster (*Etr. Reg.* i. 78); Gori (*Mus. Etr.* tab. 120); and explained by Foggini (*Diss. Corton.* ii. 93); and Lanzi (*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, ii. 191).



“Engraved pateras (mirrors) and terra-cotta vases may be considered as the productions of a manufacturing industry. Whatever degree of ability we might wish to attribute to the artists employed in multiplying such works, we cannot award to them the merit of invention, of composition, of whatever constitutes, in fine, the original idea of those various subjects presented to us in such works. It is probable that such manufactories had formerly, as our own in the present day, models of figures and groups copied from ancient sculptures or paintings, and that these designs formed types, which were copied with more or less fidelity, and which served to perpetuate the more ancient style of drawing of the primitive schools.

“Thus may be explained the excessive difference of style in the drapery, the drawing, and the general treatment, which one beholds in two vases, found, perhaps, in the same tomb, and which display the same form, material, varnish, and workmanship, though their style and drawing indicate a difference of many ages.

“A similar anomaly of style is met with in the Etruscan pateras. Some of them display an apparent treatment without art, or anterior to art, which is in all probability imitative. Others, on the contrary, exhibit compositions, forms, outlines, attitudes, and movements, which indicate either the epoch of a more advanced art, or that they are copies of original works by superior artists. In this last category may, we imagine, be placed the design of the copper patera representing the birth of Minerva. The general composition, the grouping, the character of the heads, the style of drapery, the costume of the figures, the pose and attitude of Vulcan,—all are distinguished from that stiff, false, and unpractised drawing of the outlines, that monotony of drapery, that absence of truth, that awkward stiffness, that affectation of constantly showing a profile,—incontestable signs of ignorance, which betray the age of the first essays of imitation among all people.

“If the style of drawing and the composition of this work had offered us those traits of a primitive style, which in Italy, as in Greece, preceded by a lapse of several ages the epoch of Phidias, we might suppose that the idea of this representation of the birth of Minerva, on an instrument of sacrifice doubtless in use in the worship of that goddess, might have been handed down by tradition, and after being multiplied under the same form as an object consecrated by religion, might have suggested to the sculptor of the pediment in question the general intention of his subject.

“But it is otherwise. The composition, the adjustment, the design of this scene traced on copper, evidently indicate an age in which the arts of Etruria, although greatly inferior in several respects to those of Greece, had yet received from them some reflection, and thrown aside their first stiffness. Thus it will be permitted to suppose, that the grand and celebrated compositions of the Parthenon at Athens were reproduced in design, and that some of the subjects became the objects of free imitation for many of those dependent arts, which in all ages exist at the expense of the superior. It is probable, therefore, that the Etruscan patera may be a reminiscence of the pediment of Phidias. At all events, and without carrying these conjectures too far, we shall find, I think, by a comparison of the design of this patera, with due regard to the composition required in a pediment, that the centre of the pediment, considering its pitch, and the elevation of its upper angle, would present the most natural situation for a subject such as that I have restored. Minerva, rising above the head of the god, would be placed immediately under the angle, and nothing would have been more easy than the execution of such a group,

especially when one considers that the sculptures of these pediments, instead of being executed in bas-relief, carved out of the solid blocks of the tympanum, were composed of statues, each of independent workmanship, and afterwards placed together so as to form one general composition."

This opinion of Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter was adopted by Bröndsted, (*Voyages et Recherches en Grèce*, fol. Paris, 1830), and more recently by Gerhard, (*Athenens Geburt*, 4to. Berlin, 1838), who only differs from M. De Quincy in the appropriation of some of the accessorial figures. He founds his opinion, however, not on a single Etruscan mirror, but on the numerous representations of this subject on painted vases, which he considers "should remove all doubt as to the subject represented in the pediment of the Parthenon."

In a subsequent pamphlet, (*Drei Vorlesungen über Gyps-Abgüsse*, 8vo. Berlin, 1844), M. Gerhard has given a restoration of the pediment, taking as his basis a vase of remarkable beauty and importance (formerly belonging to M. Beugnot, but now in the British Museum),⁽¹⁾ which vase has also been published and explained by MM. Lenormant and De Witte, (*Elite des Monumens Céramographiques*), and by Forchhammer, (*Die Geburt der Athene*).



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, AS REPRESENTED ON THE BEUGNOT VASE.

As considerable use has been made of this vase in the accompanying restoration, it may be useful to describe the different figures, as explained by these writers. In the centre we behold Jupiter (Zeus) and Minerva (Athena). On their right are Vulcan (Hephæstus), Neptune (Poseidon), and Bacchus

¹ No. 741 *. See *Vase-Catal. Brit. Mus.*

(Dionysus): on their left Eileithyia and Diana (Artemis). All these have their names written in characters running towards the centre. Between Poseidon and Dionysus are two figures, which have been taken for Nike (Victory) and Apollo, or Iris and Theseus. The outside figures have been described by Gerhard as a Demos and Nereus; by the British Museum Vase-Editors as a Demos and Hades; by Forchhammer as Olympus and Thessalus; and by Lenormant and De Witte, as Amphictryon or Icarius, and Cecrops.

This vase not only puts us in possession of several particulars relating to the myth, but it is also interesting, as being the most carefully-painted vase of the Minerva series, and in having the figures red on a black ground, like the Magna-Græcia vases. Although we cannot consider that it offers us a precise indication of the order and arrangement of the Parthenon pediment, there being six figures on one side, and only three on the other, it is possible that some of the figures may have been copied, by various gradations, from the Parthenon pediment; and we may at least be allowed to give a greater importance to the representation on this vase, from its vast superiority over other similar monuments. The points which I consider of such interest are—

The appearance and attitude of Diana and Nike:

The attitude of Apollo, whose clenched hands so admirably correspond to the description by Homer:(¹)

The attitude of Eileithyia:

And the presence of Hades and a Demos.

With respect to the unequal distribution of the figures, we may imagine that the artist has omitted two figures on the left of the centre, from want of space; and if we suppose these to be Mars (Ares) and Venus (Aphrodite), we shall have the same characters as in the accompanying design, with the exception of Dionysus in lieu of Juno (Hera).

¹ See page 394, note 5.

In opposition to the advocates of the foregoing theory, that the actual birth was represented, several writers have reverted again to the original supposition, entertained by Spon and Wheler, and by Stuart, that the presentation rather than the birth of Minerva was selected by the sculptor, as being equally indicative of the sacred myth, and as being more consistent with the principles of artistic treatment. This idea was first put forward by Professor Cockerell, in 1830, (in his *Illustrations of the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. vi. pl. xxi. p. 13), whose opinion Millingen immediately supported, (*Annali dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* iv. 1832, p. 207), though he objected, that the figure of Jupiter must have been represented standing, as, otherwise, the projection of the feet and knees would have been greater than that of the corona. More recently, Professor Welcker has published an essay on the same subject, (*On the Sculptured Groups in the Pediments of the Parthenon*: translated by Dr. L. Schmitz, *Class. Mus.* vol. ii. 8vo. Lond. 1844, p. 367,) in which he advocates a similar opinion, believing, with Millingen, that Jupiter must have been in a standing position. He considers the former theory as monstrous, and objects to its advocates, that representations depicted on vases were copies rather of paintings within the temple, than imitations of the sculpture without:—

“Architectonic sculpture, as applied to the ornamenting of temples (κόσμος), does not follow quite the same laws, and has, in part, its peculiar subjects. It is at any rate obvious, that the products of vase manufactories, destined for certain purposes in ordinary life, can have had but a very limited influence upon sculpture and upon great public monuments. Every one who looks at the creations of Phidias with eyes entirely free from the impressions made by vase-paintings, and with an unbiassed judgment, must confess that he could not have represented Zeus in the same manner as the vase painters. And if ever so many other artists, working as they did for the most distant localities, and with the most distant objects in view, had followed the examples of those painters, certainly the sculptor who created the groups of Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, and of Thallo and Auxo, who knew how to manage within a given space the original figures of Aphrodite on the knees of Dione, and the groups of the Eleusinian divinities, and who invented the figures of the twelve gods sitting on chairs in the eastern frieze, cannot have adopted an ancient type in representing Zeus giving birth to his daughter; he cannot have disfigured, by a monstrous notion of the ancient belief in miracles,

and by a remnant of the rude simplicity of early ages, a work which, in all its details, contains evidence of the most extraordinary power of invention, and, at the same time, of the deepest and purest artistic taste, and which throughout breathes life and nature, notwithstanding its sublime grandeur; he cannot have intolerably exaggerated in his colossal marble a representation which, destined as it was for a small painting on a small vessel, and for small and limited circles, was still bold and dangerous: and he cannot have exhibited such a thing to the eyes of all Greece, in a spot which, of all others at Athens, was calculated to invite the curiosity of all admirers of art. It is, indeed, repugnant to our feelings, and impossible to conceive it."

I have thought it necessary to give the opinions of these writers thus fully, that the reader may be able to form a more complete idea of the subject in dispute, and to judge more freely of the probability of the theory which I am about to propose, and which will be found to be in part compounded of the two opinions, without being identical with either. I agree with MM. Visconti, Quatremère de Quincy, Brøndsted, and Gerhard, in the opinion that the presentation of Minerva to the gods of Olympus, cannot be understood as identical with the birth of Minerva as described by Pausanias; and I agree with MM. Cockerell, Millingen, and Welcker, in condemning the conceit of representing a doll-like figure of Minerva, issuing from the head of Jupiter, in so palpable a material as marble, as being altogether monstrous and inartistic.

"Non tamen intus

Digna geri promes in scenam: multaque tolles

Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præsens."⁽¹⁾

"Nec, quodcumque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi."⁽²⁾

With the exception of Professor Cockerell, who unites in himself the practised knowledge of architecture and sculpture with the power of learned criticism, and of M. Brøndsted, the other writers have treated the subject only in a mythological aspect.⁽³⁾ Leaving this part of the question—so far as regards

¹ HOR. *De Arte Poet.* 182-184.

² *Id.* 339.

³ Since the preparation of this article, I find that Mr. Lloyd, in an essay written in 1846, and unpublished (but communicated to a few friends), adopted the view of placing Minerva upright, in the centre of the pediment; Juno being seated on one side of her, and Jupiter opposite on the other: the grouping of Jupiter and Vulcan being taken from the bas-relief published by Winckelmann.

the central figures—for the consideration of those who are more competent than myself to express an opinion, I purpose to treat the subject simply in an artistic point of view. I propose to consider, not so much the instructions which the Hierarch would give through Pericles, as the conceptions which Sculpture would create in the mind of Phidias—not so much what Phidias had to do, as how he did it.

There can be no doubt that of the two theories which have been suggested, the presentation of the new-born goddess to the deities of Olympus would afford a subject of great nobleness and beauty. Jupiter would be seated in the centre of the pediment, and with his attributes—his lofty and magnificent throne, his carved footstool, his sceptre and his eagle,—would form an imposing and splendid centre to the composition. No “monstrous” wound, no expression of pain, would detract from the god-like serenity of Jupiter’s appearance; no exaggerated character in the other deities would tend to lessen the simple majesty of the general composition. The various figures of the pediment, though disposed in different attitudes, would yet form one continued whole, having a grand central point of unity, and that centre, the sovereign deity himself. Surely, no subject could exceed in nobleness of character that in which the king of the gods is represented sitting on his throne, surrounded by all the superior deities. But though one of the most desired objects with the sculptor would be to form the noblest scene he could devise, this was not the paramount requirement. It being Minerva’s house, he had to represent Minerva’s birth; and such, according to Pausanias, was fully executed:—“To those entering the temple called Parthenon, all that is placed in the pediment refers to the birth of Minerva; but in the back of the temple is the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the right of territory.”

Ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν, ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιούσιν, ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις αἵετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν. τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστέν ἕρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.⁽¹⁾

¹ PAUS. i. 24, sec. 5.

Although this event is literally represented in the vase-paintings adduced by the opposite party for their authority, and although the compositions on such vases are generally such as are most typical of the event indicated, and which most perfectly embrace, as well the events which preceded the moment chosen, as those which followed it; yet we have no authority for supposing that the artist of the Athenian pediment was obliged to select such moment, embracing most completely every event referred to. Such representations become liable to objection, when we consider that the moment chosen being that which is most perfectly in equilibrium, and referring equally to the events preceding and following—would relate equally to Jupiter as to Minerva. Were an earlier moment indicated, then, although the subject would still relate to the birth of Minerva, the scene would have especial reference to the pain induced by the operation of Vulcan; or still earlier, to the labours of childbirth; or earlier still, to the swallowing of Metis: and in these cases, Jupiter would be brought more and more in view, and Minerva less.

It is precisely thus that we find the subject treated by the vase-painters. In more than one example, we have Jupiter in labour, in which the condoling expression of the surrounding deities is most comically represented;⁽¹⁾ in another, Eileithyia is actively engaged in her professional duties;⁽²⁾ in others, Jupiter is represented with his hands clenched, as in the vehemence of pain;⁽³⁾ in another, he is in the action of hurling his thunderbolt at Vulcan, in return for his compulsory assistance;⁽⁴⁾ in others, with the hand outstretched, as in the moment of delivery;⁽⁵⁾ in several, we have the goddess rising from the head of Jupiter; in two vases, we see Minerva standing on his knee;⁽⁶⁾ and we have two other examples, in which she

¹ LENORMANT and DE WITTE, i. pl. 54; *Museo Etrus.* ii. 1, 2, 31², 48.

² LEN. pag. 190; PASSERI, *Pict. in Vasc. tab.* 152; DEMPSTER, *Etrur. Reg.* i. pl. 74.

³ LENORM. i. pl. 58, 60, 61.

⁴ *Id.* pl. 56.

⁵ *Id.* pl. 62, 64.

⁶ *Id.* pl. 55, 59; Vases of Comte Lamberg, i. 83.

appears in perfect stature, before Jupiter, who stretches out his hand towards her in exultation.⁽¹⁾ It is far from impossible that vases may one day turn up, which shall represent the swallowing of Metis, or the operation of Vulcan's axe: for as the decoration of vases was left to the fancy of the artist, the scene might be represented in a thousand manners, though, as I have stated, the point of time most generally chosen is that of the actual delivery.

But in the application of this myth to the pediment of the Parthenon, we have no authority for supposing that the artist was under the obligation of selecting such said moment of most perfect equilibrium. On the contrary, his object would naturally be to give as much importance as possible to the representation of Minerva, and he would endeavour to select such a point in the history as, at the same time that it effected this, should refer clearly to the previous events. Another objection to the adoption of the vase-paintings is the diminutive size given to the principal figure, the infant puppet-form of which would appear another being from the gorgeous chryso-elephantine statue within the naos of the temple. But independently of the want of importance given to the figure of Minerva, the difficulty and absurdity of executing such a figure in the solid, constitutes an insuperable objection.⁽²⁾

Before venturing on any conjectural restoration of the eastern pediment, it will be well to examine attentively the composition of that of the western front. In doing so, it will be found that order and symmetry,⁽³⁾ required by Vitruvius in all architecture, are peculiarly necessary as the very fundamental laws of a pedimental composition: and that no statue,

¹ LENORM. pl. 66; *Mus. Etrus.* ii. 29.

² It is true that a statue of this description did actually exist at Athens, (PAUS. i. 24,) but as an individual work it might have been treated ever so capriciously.

³ "Non potest ædes ulla sine symmetria atque proportione (Eurhythmia) rationem habere compositionis, nisi uti ad hominibus bene figurati similitudinem, membrorum habuerit exactam rationem."—VITRUV. *de Archit.* iii. 1.

however well executed, or however beautiful in itself, can look well in a pedimental group, unless its form, and mass, and attitude, and, indeed, its entire character, be in accordance with the figures immediately surrounding it, but more particularly with the figure corresponding to it on the other side of the pediment. There is a passage in Aristotle which directly bears upon this subject.

To form a *unity*, it is necessary that "the parts be so connected, that if any one of them be either transposed or taken away, the whole will be destroyed or changed: for whatever may be either added or omitted without making any sensible difference, cannot be a part of the whole."⁽¹⁾ With this key to our enquiries, we proceed to examine the sculpture of the more perfect pediment.⁽²⁾

In the Western front of the Parthenon we have the most beautiful group left us from antiquity. Nothing can exceed the admirable play of lines produced by the sculptor in this composition. Notwithstanding the variety of figures, there is not one which presents a perpendicular line. Artistically speaking, the subject is divided into two masses, the figures of which are of proportionate size. In the central group are Neptune and Minerva, with their chariots and attendants. These figures, by their arrangement as well as by their size, constitute the principal and more prominent group. The second mass, if we

¹ ARISTOT. *Poetica*, viii. 4. *Ed.* Hermann.

² In decorating the pediment of a temple, the sculptor must have felt great difficulty in applying his group to so unaccommodating a form as a triangle. When the subject admitted of the introduction of the supreme deities in the centre of the group, as in the pediments of the Parthenon, the artist availed himself of the common practice of remote antiquity, of representing the deity as of colossal size; and he was thus enabled to fill up his pediment more easily. But when the subject was of no sacred character, but represented such scenes as a battle between Greeks and Amazons, no such liberty could be permitted, and the sculptor was obliged to have recourse to other means to raise up the centre of his composition. We find these two manners well exemplified in the monument at Xanthus. In the eastern pediment, the god and goddess, seated in the centre, are of colossal size; and, in the western, the centre is occupied by a figure on horseback, which fills up the composition very successfully, while the shoulder of the half-pediment which is preserved to us is occupied by men on foot, advancing against him.

may so call it, is composed of the accessorial figures in the two extremities of the tympanum, which also correspond to each other in their individual parts.

By this division of the sculpture, the eye is enabled at a glance to grasp the leading subject represented by the artist, instead of wandering indistinctly over the whole of the composition had the figures been of a more equal gradation. As the central group comes out distinctly from the side groups, so the two principal figures, Neptune and Minerva, stand out boldly from all other figures: and thus the eye is attracted at first by the general character of the central group, and immediately after by the principal personages of that group.

Though the figures of Neptune and Minerva are so colossal, that were they standing upright their heads would touch the apex of the pediment, yet, by the attitude given to them, all appearance of heaviness is overcome, and the figures are prominent without being overpowering. The Neptune leans to the right, the Minerva to the left, while their arms and legs cross each other, so as to form, with these two figures only, a central group of great variety and beauty of lines.⁽¹⁾ The land and sea-horses on either side give a pyramidal form to this central group, and by the undulating lines of the horses, give a peculiar grace and compactness to the whole composition.

Mr. Lloyd very correctly observes of the Minerva, that "from the view that is shown (in Carrey's drawing) of the fracture, or stump, of her left arm, it must have extended before him, and outwards from the pediment."

This position of the arm I consider necessary to the perfect balance and expressiveness of the figures. Minerva is placed behind Neptune, and behind her horses, and we require this

¹ I would refer the reader to Mr. Lloyd's judicious remarks on these two statues, in the fifth volume of the *Class. Mus.*, where he very accurately describes the tension and relaxation of the different muscles, the relative proportion of vigour and spirit, the contrasted and symmetrical gesture, and the interlacing of the several parts.

extension of one arm, to denote the superiority of the virgin goddess. I have, therefore, in accordance with this feeling, slightly altered the accompanying plate, by introducing the arm and *shield*⁽¹⁾ of Minerva warding off and protecting her country from the attack of its enemies. The spear is in Minerva's right, the trident in Neptune's left, or weak hand. By this position of the goddess, the sculptor has cleverly managed to place Neptune in the way of *his* horses, while Minerva allows free passage to her own.

Another remarkable evidence of careful study of effect evinced in this pediment, is seen in the manner in which the voids and masses of the pediment are made to alternate regularly with the columns and intercolumniations below; thus avoiding those perpendicular lines observable in the portico of one of our public buildings, where the columns appear to be not only extended by the pedestals below, but to run up into the sculpture above.

This pediment, then, is so remarkable, that we at once turn to the Eastern, naturally expecting to behold there a still more transcendent grandeur and beauty. But, instead of finding in the restorations of this pediment by the various critics who have written on the subject, ⁽²⁾ that blending of the lines, and welding, we might almost say, of the forms together, we perceive in the generality of such designs, insulated perpendicular figures, without life or meaning: instead of the greatly increased proportion given to the principal figures, as observable in the western pediment, we find there the figures are, as much as possible, reduced to one medium size.

Judging of these designs abstractedly or artistically, I

¹ A proper type of Minerva as a guardian deity.

² It would betray a want of candour to include Mr. Cockerell's design, (*Anct. Marb. Brit. Mus.* vi.) in this category, which displays great judgment and ability, though the theory is different from that at present offered. The sculptured pediment of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, designed by Prof. Cockerell, is the finest modern composition for a pedimental group that I am acquainted with. Its general character approaches somewhat to that of the western pediment.

cannot consider that they express the spirit and character of the lost original: we must seek, therefore, in what other manner these elements may be best obtained. It has been stated that in the western pediment the sculpture is divided into two distinct groups, occupying the centre and the extreme ends of the triangle. In the eastern pediment we have only the extreme ends of the pediment, which can give but little or no clue to the arrangement of the central group, which is entirely wanting. The temple being dedicated expressly to Minerva, and finding Minerva holding a conspicuous position in the western pediment, it is reasonable to suppose that Phidias, who was—“*Diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior*,”⁽¹⁾ would have given a still more prominent position in the eastern pediment to the figure of Minerva; by reason both of the greater importance of the subject of representation, and from the east end being always considered as the principal. Minerva should, therefore, be the central figure in the eastern pediment; and, as in the western pediment the central figures are of colossal size, so in the eastern the statue of Minerva should not only occupy the centre of the pediment, but form the most important figure in the composition. In the western pediment, we observe great beauty is effected by the lines of the horses, the forms of which appear necessary to connect the whole together, and prevent an undue preponderance of the perpendicular form. Some lines of this description are required in the eastern pediment, though it is possible that the direction of these lines should be so managed as to produce variety. Thus, the central figure of Minerva, in the eastern pediment, would form a contrast to the double figures of Neptune and Minerva in the western, and thus the converging or pyramidal lines of the horses might require diverging lines in the eastern pediment, which lines are procured in the accompanying engraving, by means of the sceptres of Jupiter and Juno; precisely in the same manner that we find

¹ *Quint. Inst.* xii. 10, sec. 9.

this occasionally managed in vase-paintings.⁽¹⁾ And if we compare the several other groups in the two pediments, we shall observe similar marks of contrast.

This variety we might have expected to behold in the central group of the eastern pediment, had the figures been preserved to us. As the central figures in the western pediment are in animated attitudes, those in the eastern might have been calm and sedate: as the side figures in the western are in quiet attitudes and seated, those of the eastern might have been raised and erect.

These, then, are what I consider to be the characteristics of the eastern pediment,—such a perceptible difference in the size and composition, as should render the central group easily distinguishable from the side groups—such predominating importance given to the central figure, as should render it pre-eminent over all others—such freedom and gracefulness in the curved lines on each side of the centre, as should contrast most effectually with the straight lines, and such fulness and roundness as should unite the whole in one composition. But in imagining the figure of Minerva to occupy the centre of the pediment, we must not forget that the glorious statue of the goddess, the masterpiece of Phidias' art, stood below. The attitude of this figure was erect. She stood upon a lofty pedestal, and her head nearly touched the summit of the roof. The doors are open; and she is visible to the eyes of the countless multitude before the temple. It is impossible, then, to suppose that the Minerva of the pediment could have been represented erect, for she would then have appeared to stand upon the head of the statue beneath. An attitude must, therefore, be selected for her, which shall appear least identical with

¹ See plate 242 and 317 of Inghirami (*Pitture di Vasi Fittili*), where we see spears and thyrsi so arranged. The celebrated vase of the death of Priam, in the museum at Naples, is particularly remarkable for the pyramidal forms of the various groups.

that below. The being is the same, but the appearances should be most dissimilar.

In conformity with these several requirements, I have imagined the figure of Minerva to occupy the central portion of the pediment, to be represented as just issued from the head of Jupiter, and as rising supremely towards the highest heaven, and springing up into ether.⁽¹⁾

Ἡ γενέτηρος
Πηγῆς ἐκπροθορουσα, καὶ ἀκροτάτης ἀπὸ σείρας.⁽²⁾

She has attained her full stature; she utters a loud shout;⁽³⁾ her arms are extended upward, holding a spear and buckler;⁽⁴⁾ while her feet are raised from the ground, to indicate, by the continuity of action, the period of recent birth.

Thus is she described by Pindar,—

What time, by Vulean's adze, the poets sung,
From great Jove's head, the armed Minerva sprung
With awful shout—Heaven's thunders rolled, ⁽⁵⁾
And gods and men all shuddered to behold.

¹ See page 373.

² PROCLUS, *Hymn. ad Miner.* 1, 2.

³ αὐτὴ τε πόλεμοι τε. HOM. *Hym. ad Min.* xi. 3. φιλόμαχος, ÆSCHYL. *Sept. c. Theb.* 130. In an Etruscan Mirror, published by Dr. Braun in the *Annali*, 1851, (p. 141, pl. G, H,) *Lalan*, a personification of the war-shout, ἀλαλά, is represented, together with *Preale*, who may be considered as a personification of the impetuous leaping-forth of Minerva, fully-armed (πρύλεις) from the head of Jupiter.

⁴ See TZETZES, *ad Lycoph.* 355; SCHOL. *ad Apoll.* iv. 1310. Among other derivations of the names of Minerva is that of Πάλλω, to brandish, or vibrate. See also PLATO, *Cratyl.* 406. Minerva is also described as shaking her shield, (NONNUS, *Dionys.* iv. 390, xxvii. 296); and thus, paying attention also to the vibrating crest of her πῆληξ, we must consider that her impetuous leaping motion, so constantly exhibited on the vases, is an important element to be expressed in a representation of her birth.

⁵ This appears alluded to in the many vases representing the birth of Minerva, where we find Jupiter so generally grasping his thunderbolt. See LENORMANT and DE WITTE, i. pl. 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, and 65 A. It is partly with this view that I have introduced the eagle and thunderbolt under the feet of Minerva, and partly as a figurative representation of the birth of the goddess from the head of Jupiter. The owl might have been introduced in the folds of the drapery. The Scholiast of Aristophanes (*ad Equit.* 1091) says that the owl flying was a symbol of victory. See also DIOG. *Proverb. Cent.* iii. 72.

‘Ανίχ’ Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν
 Χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ’ ἄκραν
 Ἀνορούσας, ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ. ⁽¹⁾

Thus by Hesiod,—

From his head proceeded, self-created,
 Pallas Tritogenia, blue-eyed maid ;
 Awful, ⁽²⁾ unconquer’d, leader of the fight,
 Whom shouts and tumults, din and wars delight. ⁽³⁾

And thus by Homer,—

Forth from the head of him, Ægiochus,
 Immortal Jove! she rushed impetuous,
 Brandishing aloft her sharp-pointed spear.
 At the dread sight Olympus shook with fear ;
 The earth groaned heavily, the sea distress’d,
 With purple waves her sovereign might confess’d. ⁽⁴⁾

And in the same manner is she described by Philostratus,—

“ The gods were affrighted at seeing Minerva just issued from the head of Jupiter, by the assisting instrument of Vulcan, appearing completely armed. ⁽⁵⁾

¹ PINDAR, *Olym.* vii. 65-70.

² γοργῶπις ἀδάματος θεὰ. SOPH. *Ajax.* 450.

³ Αἰτὸς δ’ ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλανκώπιδα Τριτογένειαν,
 Δεινὴν, ἐγρεκύδοιμον, ἀγέστρατον, ἀτρυτώνην,
 Πόττιαν, ἣ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.—HESIOD. *Theog.* 924-926.

ἵππων καὶ σακέων ἀδομένα πατάγῳ.—CALLIM. *Hymn. in Lavac. Pall.* 44.
 Πολεμοκλόνον τ’ Ἀθήνην, ANAC. liii.

⁴ Ἡ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
 Ἔσσυμένως ᾤρουσεν ἀπ’ ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου,
 Σείσας δ’ ὄξυν ἄκοντα μέγας δ’ ἐλελίζετ’ Ὀλυμπος
 Δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμῃ γλανκώπιδος· ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
 Σμερδαλέον ἰάχῃσεν· ἐκινήσῃ δ’ ἄρα πόντος
 Κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος, ἔσχετο δ’ ἄλμῃ
 Ἐξαπίνης.—HOMER, *Hymni*, ii. 8.

⁵ Φρίττουσι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναῖν, ἄρτι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἐν ὄπλοις ἐκτραγεῖσθαι Ἡφαίστου μηχαναῖς, ὡς ὁ πέλεκυς. (PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.) Ἀθηναῖα σὺν ὄπλοις ἀνεθορε. (APOLLOD. *Bibl.* i. 3, see. 6.) Γενομένη δ’ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐχ ἦττον τούτων θαυμαστὸν τὸ τέταρτον ἐφείλκετο, ὃ δὴ φασὶ συμβῆναι περὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φάσμα. ἀνῆει γὰρ εὐθὺς ἔνοπλος, ὥσπερ ἥλιος πᾶνίσχωνόμου ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν, ἐνδοθεν κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. (ARIST. *Orat.* i. 18.) See also EUSTATHIUS, *Comment. in Iliadem*, A, p. 83, Rome; LUCIAN, *Deor. Dial.* viii.; MARTIAN. *Capel.* vi.

Such an appearance of their virgin goddess, the personification of intellectual wisdom and excellency, commanding alike from her position and attitude, her casque and ægis, her spear and buckler,—glittering in all the brightness of the sun,—must have elicited a proud boasting, must have awakened a sacred fire in the breast of every Athenian citizen. On either side of Minerva would be Jupiter and Juno, seated on thrones, and the attitude of whose bodies, assisted by the diverging lines of their sceptres, would correspond to, and contrast with, the curved lines of the horses of Nike and Amphitrite, in the western pediment.

The position of the goddess before Jupiter would be conformable with the description by Philostratus, who says that,—

“Jupiter seemed to gasp with delight, as those who endure great labour for the accomplishment of some good, and contemplated his daughter, exulting at her birth.”⁽¹⁾

Nor are we without authority from vase-paintings for this position of the goddess. On two vases she is represented as standing on the knee of Jupiter; on two others as standing



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, ON A VASE IN THE MUSEO-ETRUSCO.

¹ Ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ἀσθμαίνει σὺν ἡδονῇ, κατὰπερ οἱ μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ καρπῷ διαπονήσαντες ἄλλον, καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἐξιστορεῖ, φρονῶν τῷ τόκῳ. PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27. So also by HOMER, Γήθησε δὲ μητιέτα Ζεὺς.—*Hymn. ad Athen.*

before him;(¹) and on another she is represented rising, *full-sized*, from above his head.(²) Another instance of this position is seen in the eastern frieze of the temple of Nike-Apteros, where Minerva appears standing between Jupiter and Neptune, the former of whom is enthroned, the latter seated on a rock.(³)

The vacant space in this part of the composition may be objected to, as contrasting too powerfully with the more crowded portions; but I have had a particular object in thus opposing it. I desire to express by this vacuity the etherial firmament, as especially considered the province of this divinity, as the earth was that of Ceres, or the sea of Neptune.(⁴) Jupiter and Juno were also taken for this element: but Jupiter, as the centre of the universe, was considered as occupying the middle region of the heavens; Juno as the lower region; and Minerva, as the excellency of wisdom, and as proceeding from the head of Jupiter, was regarded as occupying the summit of the etherial atmosphere.(⁵) Tzetzes describes Minerva as "the air or exhalation which moves heaven;"(⁶) Gyraldus, quoting Diodorus, Porphyrius, and Macrobius, says that ether was attributed to Minerva from "the unsullied purity of that element;"(⁷) and Eustathius to the same effect;(⁸) Martianus compares her to "ethereal fire;"(⁹)

¹ See ante, p. 364, note 1. The accompanying figure is from the *Mus. Etrus.* ii. 29. It is described as Jupiter and Juno, and some other deity, though it evidently represents Jupiter, Minerva, and Vulcan. It occurs on the same vase as the engraving in the next page.

² LENORMANT and DE WITTE, i. pl. 63.

³ ROSS, SCHAUBERT, and HANSEN, *Akropolis von Athen.* p. 11. pl. xii.; GERHARD, *Annali dell Inst.* xi. 61, tav. E. Behind these are the other of the twelve deities. Juno is most probably the figure seated in a throne at some distance from the scene; though, from the manner in which the standing figure immediately behind Jupiter holds her veil, she might have been taken for that divinity.

⁴ SALLUST. (*Philos.*) *De Diis et Mundo*, cap. vi. Compare TZETZES, *Alleg.* 149.

⁵ PHURNUTUS, *De Nat. Deor.*; BEGER, *Thes. Bran.* iii. 219, 439; CREUZER, *Symb.* viii. sec. 29, vol. ii. p. 800.

⁶ TZETZES, *ad Lycoph.* 17.

⁷ *Hist. Deor. Syntag.* 338 A, 339 A B; DIOD. SIC. i. 12, sec. 7; FULGENTIUS, *Mythol.* ii. 3, *de Min.*

⁸ EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliadem*, A, p. 83, 123, *Rome.*

⁹ MARTIAN. *Capel.* vi.

and, lastly, we learn that the blue eyes attributed to this divinity, were considered by some as having reference to the colour of ether.⁽¹⁾ It is in conformity with this belief, that I have hazarded the bold idea of representing her in what may be regarded as the too theatrical attitude of rising towards the apex of the pediment. This idea appears expressed in the accompanying engraving from the *Museo-Etrusco*, (ii. 29, but un-



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, ON A VASE IN THE MUSEO-ETRUSCO.

explained,) where we find Jupiter, recognised by his thunder-bolt and sceptre, before whom are Apollo and Eileithyia; the birth of Minerva being symbolized by a bird flying from the head of Jupiter. It is important to observe that it occurs on the same vase as the figure in page 372.

In the oration by Aristides, in honour of this divinity, we read,—

“But as she was born in the summit of heaven, and from the summit of Jove’s head, so the summits of all cities [acropoli⁽²⁾] were dedicated to her,” &c. ⁽³⁾

¹ EUST. *Com. A.* p. 124 ; DIOD. SIC. i. 12, sec. 8.

² PHURNUTUS, xx.

³ “Ατε δὲ ἐν κορυφῇ τε τοῦ Ὀλύμπου καὶ ἐκ κορυφῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενομένη πόλεων τε πασῶν τὰς κορυφὰς ἔχει κατὰ κράτος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡρηκυῖα (vel ἡρκυῖα) καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι θεοφιλείς οὐκ ἄτη πατεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς, Ἀθηναὶ δὲ ἀνέχει καὶ ἐμβατεύει, τηρούσα τὸ σύμβολον τῆς αὐτῆς γενέσεως.—ARIST. *Orat.* i. 19.

“She occupies,” says Diodorus Siculus, “the summit of the universe,”—

τὸν ἀκρότατον ἐπέχειν τόπον τοῦ συμπαντος κόσμου.⁽¹⁾

She was^e said to be born from the summit of Jupiter’s head, because ether is the highest portion of the atmosphere,—

αἰθέρα τὸν ὑψηλότατον εἶναι ἀέρα.⁽²⁾

Eandem hanc alii ætherium verticem, et summitatis ipsius esse summam dixerunt.⁽³⁾

Ego in altissimis habitavi, et thronus meus in columna nubis.⁽⁴⁾



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA. (PASSERI, LUCERNE).

We meet with a striking illustration of this hypothesis in an ornamental lamp, given by Passeri, (*Lucerne*, i. tab. 52,) where we behold Minerva just issued from the head of Jupiter, floating horizontally in the air.⁽⁵⁾

Another still more hazardous conjecture, and one which I propose with the greatest diffidence and hesitation, is that of attributing wings to Minerva; but although hypothetical, I have thought it necessary to express these wings in the drawing,

¹ DIOD. SIC. i. 12, sec. 7.

² EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* A, 124.

³ ARNOB. *advers. Gent.* p. 118, lib. iii.

⁴ *Script. Rer. Myth.* 8vo. Cellis, 1834, iii. 10. *The highest god*: see CREUZER, *Symb.* ii. 800.

⁵ Compare MILLIN. *Pierres gravées*, xvi. where she is represented as moving noiselessly in the air, precisely as she is described by Homer, *Il.* E 778.

that the reader may form a more definite impression of the effect produced. I have been led to adopt this idea, from the objection which might be made to a figure being represented as suspended without support. It is quite certain that Minerva was fabled by the ancients as having wings to her feet and helmet;⁽¹⁾ and it has been very reasonably supposed that such appendages were intended as indicative of wings on shoulders.⁽²⁾

Thus spake the goddess :
Then on her feet her feather'd sandals bound,
Immortal, bright with gold, which o'er the ground
And waters swiftly bore, mid space around.⁽³⁾

So Cicero, to the same effect,—

“ Pallantis . . . cui pinnarum talaria affigunt,” (affigunt.) ⁽⁴⁾

Tzetzes gives us this origin of the fable. He says that the goddess Pallas, having slain her father, the winged Pallas, furnished herself with his skin as an ægis, and adapted his wings to her feet.⁽⁵⁾ We know, moreover, that Minerva was commonly represented, among the Etruscans, as having wings on her shoulders;⁽⁶⁾ and there is a passage in Aristophanes from which we might imagine that she was also thus regarded by the Greeks:—

ὁ γ' Ερμῆς
Πέτεται, θεὸς ὦν, πτέρυνγας τε φορεῖ, πάλλοι γε θεοὶ πάνυ πολλοί.
Λυτικά Νίκη πέτεται πτέρυνγοιν χρυσαῖν.⁽⁷⁾

Æschylus represents the chorus of the Eumenides as placing the people under the protection of Minerva's wing—

Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς
Οντας ἄζεται πατήρ—⁽⁸⁾

¹ See ECKHEL, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* v. 84.

² INGHIRAMI, *Mon. Etr.* ii. 643.

³ Ὡς εἰποῦσ', ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,
'Αμβρόσια, χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρῇν,

'Ηδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίαν, ἅμα πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.—HOM. *Od.* i. 96-98.

⁴ CIC. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 23.

⁵ TZETZES, *ad Lycoph.* 155.

⁶ Among the instances which may be quoted of Minerva's being represented with wings, are a small bronze statue found at Orte in 1837, published in the *Mus. Etrus.* i. 43; a bronze mirror in the Brit. Mus., on which are figured Minerva, Hercules, and Hydra; and other monuments published by Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* i. 54; ii. 34, 65.

⁷ ARISTOPH. *Aves*, 572-4.

⁸ ÆSCHYL. *Eum.* 999.

and from Eustathius it would appear that these wings, which from her sublime flight were attributed to her in common with Victory, were golden,—

Διὸ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τὴν Νίκην οὐ μόνον χρυσαῖν πτερύγοιν ἐχόσμησε διὰ τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ πολυτίμητον καὶ ὡς ἐπείν μετεωροπόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ εἰς ταυτὸν ἤγαγεν. ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ γράψας τὸ Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ Νίκη, (1)

which Phurnutus in some measure confirms, by stating that wings were attributed to her by reason of her rapid motion, which no impediment could stay,—

Πτερωτὴ παρεισάγεται, διὰ το ὀξύρροπον καὶ ἐνμετάβολον των παρατάξεων. (2)

Bearing, therefore, in mind the fact that Minerva only, of all the gods, was called Nike,—

ἡ μόνη μὲν ἀπάντων θεῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ πασῶν, οὐκ ἐπώνυμος τῆς νίκης ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὁμόνυμος, (3)

we may consider that the figure of Nike, which we find on so many coins, the obverse of which bear the head of Pallas, is



intended to denote the unity of the two goddesses in the form of Athena-Nike, the deity so generally venerated by the ancients, and most especially by the Athenians.

There are many passages in which Minerva has this title appended to her own name, as—*Νίκη τ' Ἀθήνα*, (SOPHOC. *Philoct.* 134.); *Νίκη Ἀθήνα*, (EURIP. *Ion*, 1529). In the frieze of the temple of Victory-Apteros, at Athens, it is Minerva who

¹ EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* A, p. 879, lin. 63, fol. Rom. 1542.

² PHURNUTUS, *De Nat. Deor.* xx. 189, *De Pallade*. “Minerva is called Pallas, allegorically, because of the rapid motion of Providence, or Intelligence, for whom she is considered typical.”—EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* p. 84, Rome.

³ ARISTIDES, i. 29, *Orat. in Pallad.* For other examples see EUSTATH. *Il.* xi. 64, fol. 879; MEURSIUS, *Cecr.* viii.; HARPOCRATION and SUIDAS, *sub voce*.

⁴ The example here given is from COMBE, *Vet. Pop. et Reg. Num.* Ath. No. 128.

appears as Victory, standing before Jupiter;⁽¹⁾ and in the poets we find frequent instances of Minerva being called by this name:—'Αθήνην, Νίκην ἣν καλέουσιν, (NONNUS, *Dionys.* xxvii. 63); ἱερὸν 'Αθηνᾶς πεποιήται καλουμένης Νίκης,⁽²⁾ (PAUS. i. 42, sec. 4); παγκρατὲς κόρα, (ARISTOPH. *Thesmoph.* 325); ὦ πότνα Νίκα, (EURIP. *Ion*, 460); ὦ μεγὰ σεμνὰ Νίκα, (Id. *Orest.*, *Phoen.*, *Iphig. in Taur.*, *ad finem*; ἐξ οὗ καὶ Νίκη προσαγορεύεται, (PHURNUTUS, xx. 188). Were it not for the identity of these two goddesses, we might regard some passages as of doubtful authority. Some poets make Minerva assist Jupiter in his battle with the giants, and others Victory; and in Philo (PH. *Judæus*, *Lib. de Mun. Opif.*) we find Victory, and not Minerva, springing from the head of Jupiter.⁽³⁾

Athena-Nike was, therefore, the tutelary deity of Athens, and from her statue in the temple of Nike-Apteros being represented without wings, it clearly appears that wings were formerly attributed to her. Moschopulus tells us that the statue of Minerva at Athens was in the form of Victory.⁽⁴⁾

Νικῶ, τὸ περιγίνομαι. ἀφ' ὧν Νίκη, ἡ τροπαιουχία, καὶ ξόανον 'Αθηνᾶς παρὰ τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις.

Aristophanes, in the preceding quotation, gives golden wings to the figure of Victory.⁽⁵⁾ Eustathius, as we have seen, gives them in like manner to Minerva; and Ulpian states that the wings of *Athena-Nike*, in the Acropolis, were stolen by wicked persons.

Τινὲς δὲ ἐξηγοῦνται Νίκης 'Αθηνᾶς εἶναι ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Ταύτης δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας, χρυσᾶς οὖσας, ἐπεχείρησάν τινες κακοῦργοι ἀφελέσθαι. ⁽⁶⁾

¹ See page 373.

² See HARPOCRATION, *sub voce*.

³ CUPER. *Apoth. Hom.* p. 172. "Quod si accipit res fidem, nulla est ergo Mentis filia, nulla Victoria, nulla Iovis cnata de eerebro, inventrix oleæ, nulla magisteriis artium, et disciplinarum varietatibus crudita."—ARNOB. *adv. Gent.* p. 118, lib. iii.

⁴ See MEURSIUS, *Attic. Lect.* i. 20.

⁵ ARISTOPH. *Aves.* See also ATHENÆUS, v. 197, d.; PRUDENT. *cont. Symm.* ii. 27.

⁶ ULPIAN. *Orat. cont. Timocr.* See MEURSIUS, *Attic. Lect.* i. 20; and CUPER. *Apoth. Hom.* p. 172.

It does not appear whether the statue here referred to was that described by Harpocration, from the authority of Lycurgus and Heliodorus, as existing in the temple of Nike-Apteros at Athens,⁽¹⁾ or whether it was that of the temple of the *Winged Victory*, which we learn from Pausanias also existed at Athens;⁽²⁾ the fact, however, is equally important, as establishing that Athena-Nike was occasionally represented by the Athenians as having wings.

Thus, then, notwithstanding the boldness of the conjecture, I have given wings to the statue of Minerva in the eastern pediment, from the consideration that, if wings were ever attributed to this divinity, they would naturally be exhibited at her birth, when she issued from the head of Jove completely armed, in perfect stature, and in possession of all her attributes; when she was represented leaping forth from the paternal head, and, as it were, springing up into her ethereal regions; when, from the difficulty of representing her in this position in a group of sculpture, the artist may be supposed to have gladly availed himself of such assistance, especially as the lines of the wings would form so appropriate a finish to the apex of a pediment; when he would thus obtain the greatest contrast to the statue in the Naos, at the same time that the statue of *Athena-Nike* in the pediment would be in harmony with that of *Athena-Nicephora* below; and lastly, when the appearance of their goddess, with wings extended, would be typical of rising to victory; in close connexion with which would be the brazen-gilt shield affixed to the eastern architrave.⁽³⁾

The idea of thus representing her is rendered probable by the fact, that many temples had their pediments crowned with figures of Victory. Thus, that portico at Sparta, which faced the west, had two pediments, on each of which there was a Nike, the gift of Lysander, and which were monuments of a double

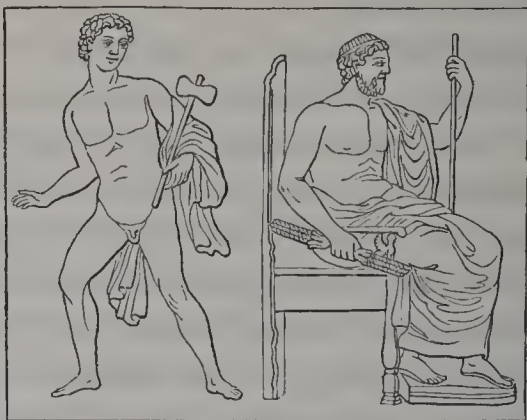
¹ HARPOCR. *Lexicon*, Νίκη Ἀθηναῖα. PAUS. i. 22.

² PAUS. ii. 30.

³ There were shields also in the western architrave, but only half as many, and without inscriptions.

victory;⁽¹⁾ and in the Temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, a golden Victory occupied the apex of the pediment, beneath which was a golden shield, bearing the Gorgon's head, with the inscription of its dedication, on occasion of a certain victory.⁽²⁾

Behind Jupiter is Vulcan,⁽³⁾ whose form and character are admirably represented in an ancient bas-relief of the Museo Rondinini, the form of which is nearly identical with that of the



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, BAS-RELIEF IN THE MUSEO RONDININI.

Beugnot vase;⁽⁴⁾ he has just struck the blow, and is retreating hastily from apprehension of the effect which might ensue; but in retreating he turns his head, and beholds, with amazement and admiration, the beautiful being so wonderfully brought forth. The admiration on his countenance, and the finger drawn to his lip, are admirably expressive of the desire which animated his breast:—

“Vulcan appeared to entertain doubts in what manner he might best conciliate the goddess, and lavish his enticements upon her, for he perceived that she was born completely armed.”⁽⁵⁾

Altogether, the figure in the Winckelmann monument is so

¹ PAUS. iii. 17, sec. 4.

² Id. v. 10, sec. 2.

³ Vulcan is said to have opened the skull, because, allegorically, he is taken for fire. See EUSTATHIUS, *Comment. in Iliad.* p. 83, *Edit. of Rome.* The vase painting of the birth of Minerva in the *Museo Etrusco* (ii. 39) is very remarkable; as, instead of a hatchet, Vulcan is represented as effecting the delivery by the motion of his hand.

⁴ WINCKELMANN, *Mon. Ined.* ii. front.

⁵ Καὶ ὁ Ἡφαιστος ἀπορεῖν ἔοικεν, ὅτῳ ποτὲ τὴν θεὸν προσαγάγῃται προανάλωται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δέλεαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ ὄπλα συνεκφύναί οἱ.—PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.

statue-like, so suited to the composition as well as to the myth, and so superior to the other representations of this divinity, which, however, as in the Beugnot vase, are found to partake of the same general character, that we might almost imagine it has been copied, perhaps by several gradations, from the pediment of the Parthenon.

If we adopt this figure, we must then accept that of Jupiter, shown in the same bas-relief, opposite to whom would naturally be the figure of Juno, enthroned in like manner; and as, from the attitude of Vulcan, it is evident he beholds the virgin goddess, and as she is not represented over the head of Jupiter, we may feel assured that, were the bas-relief complete, she would be seen in front of the Father of Olympus. I have already alluded to the correspondence and balance required in the *ἀετοί* of a Grecian temple. These characteristics are particularly observable in the western pediment. Not only do the statues of Neptune and Minerva exhibit great uniformity, combined with great variety of detail and expression, but the other figures of the pediment correspond in number and attitude. Thus, the curved lines of the horses of Minerva on one side answer to those of Neptune⁽¹⁾ on the other; the figure of Thetis to that of Erechtheus; the figure of Nike to that of Amphitrite; and so with the remaining figures of the pediment.

Now we must believe that a similar regularity reigned in the eastern pediment. I have placed Juno opposite to Jupiter,

¹ The ear of Neptune has been supposed by some writers to have been drawn by *hippocampæ*, or sea-horses; and this opinion has been supported by the figure of a dolphin apparent in Carrey's drawing, and by the fragment of a serpent, which was supposed to have formed the extremity of one of these animals. The fragment, however, has been clearly shown by Lloyd to have belonged to the statue of Cærops, in the western pediment (*Class. Mus.* v. 429); while the introduction of the dolphin would be less necessary with *hippocampæ* than with horses. I see no reason, therefore, for altering Mr. Cockerell's more artistic conception, especially when we consider the Athenian myth of Minerva's having created the olive, and Neptune the horse. See the authorities relative to Poseidon Ἰππίος, quoted by Mr. Cockerell, (*Desc. Auct. Marb. Brit. Mus.* vi. 22). The ear of Neptune in the Temple at Corinth was drawn by horses, not sea-horses.—PAUS. ii. 1.

for although, on some monuments, we find her standing or seated at some distance, to indicate the jealousy with which she regarded the circumstance of Jupiter's giving birth to a daughter without her intervention, we find her on many others identified with Eileithyia, and taking an active part in the delivery. This position of the goddess is, therefore, in entire accordance with these authorities, and with the painting by Cleanthes, ⁽¹⁾ of which Philostratus says,—

“ Even Juno, instead of feeling anger on that account, rejoiced not less than though she had been her own offspring.” ⁽²⁾

We now want a figure, the attitude and character of which shall correspond with that of Vulcan. The most suitable personage for this position is Eileithyia. The part which she occupied in the event is very identical with that of Vulcan. They each assisted in the birth, and each rejoiced at its success. Vulcan was seized with admiration at the beauty of Minerva. Eileithyia is supposed to denote her joy by the attitude in which she is constantly represented on the vase-paintings. After the fearful blow, Vulcan retreats hastily from the apprehended anger of Jove; while Eileithyia, having performed her task, and her presence being no longer necessary, retires from the assembly of the gods. We thus get a figure, not only whose character, but whose pose and action correspond with those of Vulcan; and it is remarkable that, though these two figures have been taken from different monuments, their attitude and posture should so perfectly agree.

Among the Elgin marbles is a fragment, representing two feet and a trunk or prop. It is published in the *Desc. Ant. Marb. Brit. Mus.* vi. 6. It has been imagined that it formed part of the statue of Minerva in this pediment, and that the trunk between the feet represented the celebrated olive tree. Professor Welcker, however, clearly shows that the trunk cannot be iden-

¹ Cleanthes of Corinth. See STRABO, viii. 343.

⁽²⁾ Καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς Ἥρας τι δεινὸν ἐνταῦθα γέγηθε δὲ, ὥς ἂν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.—
PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.

tified with the olive, as "the stump interferes just with the beginning of the calf of the leg: it would, therefore, necessarily have been covered by the garment of Pallas." These feet have



ELGIN MARBLE, BRITISH MUSEUM.

been supposed to belong to a statue of Minerva, Neptune, or Mars: in fact, like Cinderella's slipper, they have been tried upon every figure but the right. That they could not have pertained to the statue of Neptune, is evident from the comparatively small size of the feet; while their feminine character would preclude their being appropriated to Mars; and that they could not have formed part of the statue of Minerva, appears from the fact, that the trunk of the tree inclines inwards. For this circumstance not only shows the impossibility of its being the olive tree, but it proves that it could not have belonged to a statue of Minerva, the broad folds of whose drapery, being solid, would neither have required nor permitted the introduction of such a spur to strengthen it. From the delicacy of the feet, they are regarded by sculptors as having belonged to a female statue; they can, therefore, have appertained only to some deity, as Diana, whose short tunic, reaching to the knees, could afford no sufficient security to the statue; and which would require exactly such a prop as the trunk or spur, to strengthen the otherwise too delicate legs: the whole upright of the statues being thrown on their bases, and the statues being in nowise relieved by connexion with the upright slabs of the tympanum. It is probable, however, that this trunk was inserted for other reasons than mere stability. From the receding direction of the trunk, it would seem that it went behind the leg, and re-

appeared again at the back of the figure; and we may, therefore, assume that the sculptor, considering the nature of Diana, as goddess of woods and hunting, gladly availed himself of so characteristic an emblem of the deity, in order to give strength and support to his work. ⁽¹⁾



But another circumstance of great importance observable in these feet is, that the smaller toes are not expressed, but a separation is only visible between these and the great toe. Now, from the care with which the sculptures of the Parthenon are invariably finished, as well the parts concealed from the eye, as those exposed—those which were never seen after the statue was raised to its position in the pediment, as those which were most prominent, we cannot conceive that these feet would have been thus imperfectly expressed from motives of mere negligence. This imperfect representation of the toes is, therefore, unquestionably caused by their being concealed by the texture of the *cothurnus*, or hunting-boot; and thus we have another evidence of these feet having belonged to the goddess of the chase. ⁽²⁾

The left foot measures fifteen inches in length, which, multiplied by six, gives us the height of the statue at seven feet six inches, to which we must add something for the more delicate proportions of the female form. Perhaps a surer guide would

¹ It is scarcely necessary to refer to examples of the introduction of a tree in statues of Diana, it being a frequent practice of the ancients to make use of a trunk as a support to naked or half-naked statues, as Apollo, Mercury, or Diana: but there are two statues of this goddess, at Versailles and the Vatican, where we find a tree introduced, although the figure is sufficiently strengthened by a dog and a fawn. See MÜLLER, *Denkm.* 156, 158.

² The *chaussure efféminée*, which Millingen objected to in the attribution of these feet to Minerva (*Annali*, iv. 200), is in perfect accordance with the attributes of Diana.

be, the length of stride between the feet, which is three feet. We shall not be very wrong if we suppose the statue to have been eight feet in height; and we shall find that this is precisely the height offered us by the void space of our pediment, after filling in the five central statues. From the position of the feet, we must place Diana on the south side of the pediment. The feet are not only important in establishing the identity of the divinity and the position in the pediment, but also in indicating the attitude of the figure. The feet are stretched out, and, as has been said, about three feet asunder: the left foot is placed firmly on the ground, while the right scarcely touches it. She was therefore in rapid motion, hasting to the scene of the wonderful delivery: and it is this position of the goddess in the Beugnot vase, and which we so constantly see on medals and other monuments,⁽¹⁾ which has induced me to adopt its character as best adapted to the Parthenon pediment. ⁽²⁾

Next to the immediate actors in the scene, as Vulcan, Juno, and Eileithyia, (with whom, indeed, she is often considered to be identical,) there is no deity whom we might so naturally expect to be present as Diana, ⁽³⁾ both from her presiding over travail, and from the affinity of her character with that of Minerva. ⁽⁴⁾

Σὺ (Athena) καὶ παῖς ἡ Λαργενῆς
 Δύο θεαί, δύο παρθένοι,
 Κασίγνηται σεμναὶ τοῦ Φοῖβου.⁽⁵⁾

The attitude of Diana, bending forward, composes well with that of Vulcan retreating backward, the corresponding lines of whose figures would thus present a perfect balancing of parts, forming by themselves an independent group, subsidiary to the whole composition; a practice which we find so constantly observed in all monuments of pure Greek art.

¹ See MÜLLER, *Denkm.* ii. 156-160.

² Compare HENZEN, *Annali dell' Inst.* xiv. 91.

³ It is probable that Diana is frequently represented on the vases in the form of an Eileithyia. Dr. Braun endeavours to prove the identity of this goddess with the *Thalna* of Etruscan mirrors.—*Annali*, 1851, p. 146.

⁴ NONNUS, xlii. 371.

⁵ EURIP. *Ion*, 468-470.

Corresponding to this group, we have on the north side the figure of Eileithyia, tallying with that of Vulcan; in connexion with whom we require another figure, the attitude of which shall agree with that of Diana.



BUST OF NIKE, IN THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

This figure I should suppose to be Nike (Victory); the bust of which, now in the British Museum, was discovered prostrate within the tympanum, after the execution of Carrey's drawings. The precise situation in which it was found has not been recorded,⁽¹⁾ but it has always been placed contiguous to the Fates. This position of the figure is seemingly confirmed by its resemblance in attitude and size to the figure of Iris on the opposite side; but it is very important to observe, that its aspect towards the centre of the pediment does not correspond with the outward-bound direction of the Iris. The uniformity of size with the Iris, the Parcæ, and the Eleusinian deities, constitutes, it is true, an objection to its being placed in the position I would assign to it; but in the celebrated Beugnot vase, we not only

¹ See VISCONTI'S *Catalogue of the Elgin Collection*, in Appendix to Report from Select Committee. "Noch gehört zu diesen Giebel ein torso einer weiblichen Figur, wahrscheinlich einer *Nike*, welchem man indess keinen bestimmten Platz anweisen kann." MÜLLER, *Denkm.* Bd. i. p. 14, Taf. xxvi. 120.

find the figure of Nike opposed to that of Diana, but we see it represented smaller than any other figures of the composition.

This diminutive proportion has been attributed to the accidental circumstance of the vase being a *Pelike*, and one of the handles coming immediately above the figure: but the artist would scarcely have distorted his composition for this cause; besides which, there is no corresponding reduction of figure under the other handle. The real object of the artist I believe to have been, to thereby represent the recent birth of Minerva, and her subsequent power and glory.

The goddess Nike is generally represented with some other deity. But as Peitho was considered as an attribute of Aphrodite, so, in an especial manner, may Nike be regarded as immediately self-connected, and, indeed, identical with Minerva.⁽¹⁾

Being, then, at least so far as this individual Nike is concerned, called into existence simultaneously with Minerva, it is very natural that we should find her represented of diminutive proportion at the birth of her companion goddess. Only in two other vases is her figure introduced, and there of still more diminutive size.⁽²⁾

This figure, then, in our pediment, like that on the Beugnot vase, is hastening to greet the victorious goddess, rising into existence contemporaneously with herself.

An examination of the trunk in the British Museum will show, that the right thigh of the figure is raised. She must consequently have been in a similar posture to the Diana on the opposite side, having the right leg elevated by an inequality of the ground.

The individual action of the foregoing figures would require a change of grouping in the remaining statues. As, in the pre-

¹ See INGHIRAMI, *Mon. Etr.* ii. pl. 71.

² See page 389. In both these instances, she is represented under the throne of Jupiter. It is strange that this figure in the Beugnot vase should not have been fully recognised. Forehammer takes it for Iris; and Gerhard, Lenormant, and De Witte, for Nike or Iris.

vious groups, the figures have been separated by large vacuities, we now require close compact masses, to give variety and relief to such arrangement; and as great variety of line has been obtained by the action of the preceding figures, we now require a balance, in the repose of the perpendicular line. To answer this requirement, I would suppose two figures to close in the central composition on each side; and, as the central figures are all in one plane, these, I would imagine, might stand in a double line, but somewhat obliquely with respect to each other. We should thus have the whole central part of the pediment devoted to the general subject of representation; the extreme figures of which would form a kind of frame to the composition, and distinguish it effectually from the supplementary groups of the extreme angles. These figures would probably be—Apollo and Neptune on one side, and Mars and Venus on the other.⁽¹⁾

It is not merely in the outline that the Greek sculptor would seek to give beauty and variety to his composition. Were the decoration in painting or in bas-relief, this only would be required; but the sculpture of these pediments was in complete relief: each figure was a statue, and therefore capable of changing its effect at each movement of the spectator. Confined in his composition by the raking lines of the pediment, he sought to give diversity and freedom, not only by greater or less height, by variety of action, but also by the relative projection of the figures on the horizontal line. Thus, the pedimental sculpture of a Greek Doric temple must have produced an extraordinary effect. Viewing it at a distance, it would present a general outline of the whole composition; but as the spectator approached, and as the sun rose or declined, the groups would appear to move and take up a new position at every change of posture. An ordinary pediment of bas-relief would present the same feature, whether the spectator viewed it in front or in an oblique direction; but a Doric pediment would present a

¹ See note on following page (389).

totally different aspect from these three points of view. From one extremity he would see the faces of some of the figures, which would in their turn disappear, and others become visible, as the spectator approached to the other end. But, independently of this change of appearance, the different positions of

¹ (*referred to in p. 388*). The selection of these deities is confirmed by the following table, which has been framed chiefly from the Minerva series, published by Lenormant and De Witte, by which the reader will be able at a glance to perceive how frequently each divinity is introduced. Those marked with an (*) are published in this essay.

		2	Eileithyias.	1	Eileithyia.	Vulcan.	Mars.	Mercury.	Apollo.	Juno.	Neptune.	Diana.	Nike.	Venus.	Pluto.	Bacchus.	Hercules.	Fate.	Proserpine.	Demos.	Preale.	Lalan.
LENORMANT, I. pl. 54.....	2	.....	M	...	A	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 55.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 56.....	.....	V	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 57.....	2	.....	M	M	...	J	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 58.....	2	...	V	...	M	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 59.....	1	.....	M	A	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 60.....	1	...	M	M	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 61.....	2	...	V	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 62.....	1	...	M	M	A	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 63.....	2	...	V	M	.....	J	.....	.....	V	.....	F	P	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 64-5. *	...	1	V	.....	A	...	N	D	N	...	P	B	.....	D	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 65 A	.....	1	V	M	...	A	J	N	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Id.</i> page 190.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Uned. Ex.</i> p. 184, No. i.	2	.....	M	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— ii.	2	...	V	...	M	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— iii.	2	.....	M	...	A	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— iv.	1	...	M	...	A	...	N	...	N	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— v.	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— vi.	2	.....	M	M	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Mus. Etrus.</i> ii. pl. 1.....	.....	M	A	.....	D	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 29*	.....	V	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— *	.....	1	.....	A	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 31?	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 39.....	2	...	V	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
— 48	.....	1	...	M	M	.....	N	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Cospiano Mirror</i> *	.....	V	.....	J	.....	{	V or	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Winckel. Bas-relief</i> *	.....	V	.....	.....	.....	{	D	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Passeri, Lamp</i> *	.....	1	V	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Annali</i> , 1851, p. 141	.....	.....	J	...	D	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		E	E	V	M	M	A	J	N	D	N	V	P	B	H	F	P	D	P	L		
		12	10	12	10	10	9	5	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1

the statues, in single or grouped combinations, in greater or less projection, would exhibit a constant variety of form and outline, productive of the highest beauty. It is this variety of plane which must have given such especial richness and fulness to the composition, and rendered it so admirably in character with the nature of the architecture. By this position of one figure before another, the artist obtained for his groups, as viewed from below, an apparent difference of height, which gave the greatest variety of outline to a composition, the sides of which were confined by straight lines. It is this union of the straight lines of the architecture with the rich and broken lines of the sculpture, which must have given such inherent grace to the temple. Thus, the formal outline of the triangle, by the abrupt gradations of size, by the avoidance of straight lines in the composition, by the ease and natural simplicity of the attitudes, by the artful position of the groups—keeping some within, and some without the line of projection; debasing some and raising others above the line of the raking corona, was rendered one, the most effective for the exhibition of works of sculpture.

By these pediments, Phidias has shown how the true artist rises superior to his difficulties—nay, how difficulties in the hand of a true artist often become conducive to fresh beauties; for here we find sculpture applied to the architecture, not in the quaint simplicity of archaic types, not in the vulgar elaborateness of Roman examples, or in the frigid poverty of modern times, but with that exquisite beauty and simplicity of grace, with that boldness of design and delicacy of execution, with that freedom and richness, with that variety and fulness, and with that happy adaptation to the necessities required—that, instead of being mere ornamental sculpture, (*sculpture de bâtiment*,) we are forced to consider them as the very perfection of art; and instead of regarding the architecture as a formal and separate design, we are compelled to regard the whole temple as one indissoluble whole—as the emanation of one master mind.

In treating of the central group of the eastern pediment, the lost figures of which I have thus attempted to replace, it is

requisite to consider its connexion with the side or terminal groups. Now, it is remarkable, and some have deemed it unaccountable, that the figures composing these groups should be directed outwards, and should appear so utterly indifferent to the main action. But this changing of the position of the end figures would not only give a greater variety of posture to the whole composition, but enable the artist to represent these figures in more easy and natural positions. The principal advantage, however, would be, that in whatever point the spectator might stand, he would always see the nearest figures of the composition facing him, instead of having a repetition of broad flat surfaces.⁽¹⁾

But we must not suppose that the attitude of these figures was contrived solely with reference to their artistic effect; it may be regarded as certain that some latent signification was connected with this arrangement. Brøndsted interprets the two extreme compositions to signify — “*Jour et Nuit, Orient et Occident, lever et coucher du soleil, commencement et fin,*” and his opinion upon this point has been generally accepted. I conceive, however, that the sculptor has wished to represent something more than this; and if we examine other monuments, in which the sun and moon are represented, we shall perceive that such emblems are intended to convey some other meaning than the mere rising and setting of the sun, the period of noon-day, or the relative position of east and west, and that they are always introduced with some specific meaning. In the example before us, either they are expressive of the effect of wisdom bursting upon the world, or they are intended to designate the moment of birth, and the communication of the event by the heralds of Olympus.

In the former hypothesis, Minerva springs forth impetuously and fully armed from the head of Jupiter. She shakes her lance — Olympus trembles, the earth groans, the sea is troubled, the sun holds back his horses. With the appearance

¹ The end figures of the western pediment, though reeling in a similar position to those of the eastern, are varied from them, by being represented not only as rising from their couches, but as *turning round*, so as to behold the action taking place in the centre of the pediment.

of Minerva, no darkness can longer exist, no mist any longer remain: the clouds which had concealed her presence are removed, the goddess has burst to light, and wisdom is revealed; ⁽¹⁾

“La vérité s’en échappait, toute jeune et toute belle.” ⁽²⁾

But this supposition, though it gives a sublime motive to the introduction of Helios and Selene, leaves the former difficulties respecting the other figures of the side groups unremoved; and it is therefore that I consider the second hypothesis as more natural, and more satisfactory. ⁽³⁾

¹ See CREUZER, *Symb.* ii. 759.

² J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, *Hist. de la Réform.* i. 61.

³ The first monument I would adduce is the description of the Delphic peplos, in the *Ion* of Euripides, (114,) in which the moon and stars are represented in the centre, the sun setting in the west, and Aurora rising in the east. In this case, it is true, Helios and Eos merely express the period of time of the subject represented—the hour of midnight: but it must also be confessed that their introduction is not arbitrary, but full of meaning.

A similar example is seen in the bas-relief of an altar to Artemis-Selene, in the Louvre, and published by Bouillon, (*Musée*, iii. 69,) and by Müller, (*Denkmaler*, bd. ii. 190.) It represents Diana as the new moon; beneath whom is a head, indicating the ocean. On the left is Lucifer, or the morning-star, distinguished by a star and an upright torch; and Hesperus, or the evening star, appears with another star and an inverted torch on the right.

Another example is exhibited on the arch of Constantine, on the east and west sides of which we find Sol and Luna, which are probably introduced, not merely to distinguish their relative situation, but to denote the conquests of the Roman empire in the two principal divisions of the ancient world.

A third example occurs in the description by Pausanias (v. 11) of the bas-relief ornamenting the pedestal of the statue of Jupiter in the Temple at Olympia, and which represented the birth of Aphrodite. Here the figures of Helios and Selene have no relation to time, but are symbolical of the twofold nature of the planet Venus—as Phosphorus (Lucifer) and Hespera (Vesper): or, if the planet be considered as not sufficiently connected with the Cyprian goddess, then these symbols might have reference to her being the parent of all mankind; or, they would indicate the universal dominion of the Mother of Love.—See MILLIN. *Mons. Ined.* 318, 322; *Anthol.* ii. 113.

Other examples occur, in which the Sun and Moon are introduced to designate the universal power of the sovereign ruler of the gods and men. In a bas-relief given by Piranesi, (*Magnif. ed Arch. de' Rom.* 198; MÜLLER, *Denkm.* ii. 13,) is a representation of the three Capitoline deities in the centre of a pediment, between which are the cars of Day and Night; and in the one angle of the pediment which is preserved to us, there is a tree and a reclining figure, to indicate the earth; some

Under the figure of the setting sun, Selene, "the eye of night," (*ÆSCHYL. Sept.* 390,) appears a significant emblem of that ζόφος,

ocean-god having probably corresponded on the other side as an emblem of the sea. Similar to this is a coin of Nicæa, representing Jupiter as the centre of the universe, surrounded by Helios and Selene, Gæa and Pontos; the whole enclosed by a circle containing the twelve signs of the zodiac (*MIONNET, Suppl.* v. 78; *MÜLLER, Denkm.* ii. 26); and precisely similar in signification is a gem, on which we see Juno, with the heads of Helios and Selene appearing as ornaments to her throne. (*LIPPERT, Daktyl. Scrin.* i. 25; *Denkm.* ii. 65.) Similar instances occur in a lamp published by Becker (*iii.* 439, *lit.* H); and in a gem given by Inghirami (*Mon. Etr.* vi. pl. e. 2.) In none of these instances, therefore, do the sun and moon indicate the period of noon-day; much less are they inserted as mere artistic decorations; but in every such instance we find them introduced with some specific meaning.

But another more important instance to our argument, is exhibited on a sarcophagus in the church of S. Lorenzo, (fuora le mura), at Rome. On the lid of this sarcophagus is a bas-relief, which Ficoroni considers to "represent the birth and death of the deceased person; for at one extremity is a figure in a quadriga, assisted by a Victory, who urges the horses to the ascent of a mountain;* at the further extremity is another figure, in a biga, giving the reins to the horses, which fall headlong to the ground; and above them is a Genius, in the act of covering them with a mantle." (*FIGORONI, Le Vestigia di Roma Ant.* p. 117.) In the centre of the composition, under a canopy, there is what appears to be the standing figure of the deceased; on the right of whom is Tellus, and, on the left, Abundance, or some other divinity; next to whom are the Dioscuri, as protectors of man.

The end figure of vase 59 of Lenormant's Minerva series appears to be Hades; the end figure of vase, pl. 63, is interpreted as one of the Fates, while the figure at the opposite extremity, taken for Peitho, appears rather to represent Proserpine (Compare *MILLIN, Pierres Gravées*, pl. 50, 51), or Ceres; and the end figure of vase, pl. 64 and 65, is considered by the Editors of the Brit. Mus. Vase Catalogue to represent Hades, while the figure at the opposite extremity appears to be a Demos. If this interpretation be correct, we have in the latter two vases an additional confirmation of the theory which is now proposed.

Here, then, we have the sun and moon represented as emblems of life and death; and it is with this same signification that I would interpret these figures in the eastern pediment. It may appear to some unnecessary to have made so long a digression, in order to prove the connexion between sunrise and sunset, and the dawn and decline of life; but the interpretation I am desirous of giving to the end groups of the eastern pediment is new, and I have therefore thought it requisite to bring forward these several authorities in support of my argument.

* *The Hill of Life*, at the bottom of which is a sea-god, in allusion to the λίμνη Ἡλίοιο, out of which the sun was supposed to rise.—*HOMER, Od.* iii. 1. In the eastern pediment, Helios is actually represented rising from the waves.

which is more especially interpreted as the *darkness* of the infernal regions, ⁽¹⁾ or the "darkness of night," as *hades* is expressly called by Apollodorus; ⁽²⁾ and we are more particularly warranted in attaching this signification to the emblem, by the fact of finding the statues of the three Moiræ, or Fates, the "daughters of night," κοῦραι Νυκτὸς, ⁽³⁾ νυκτεριοι, ⁽⁴⁾ in immediate contiguity to that of Selene. From these circumstances, I consider that the group in the northern extremity represented the earth, and that in the southern the infernal regions. According to this hypothesis, we very naturally find Ceres (Demeter,) and Proserpine (Persephone,) on the one side, and the Parcæ on the other: the rising horses of Helios ⁽⁵⁾ to represent *life*, ⁽⁶⁾ the horses of Selene descending into the ocean, to indicate *death*. Thus, the representation of Helios and Selene in the eastern pediment, unlike their supposed introduction in the pedestal of the statue of Jupiter at Olympia (*Class. Mus.* ii. 372), would be equally expressive with the reason of introducing the Ilissus on the north, and the Cephissus and Callirrhoe in the southern extremity of the western pediment, as explained by Mr. Lloyd (*Class. Mus.* v. 426).

The much-contested figure next to Ceres and Proserpine, I regard as the *autochthon* Cecrops, ⁽⁷⁾ the earliest hero-king of Athens. The general attribution of it to Theseus is an anachronism, that hero not having been born till subsequently to the

¹ HOMER, *Il.* xv. 191; xxi. 56; *Od.* xi. 57; xx. 356: and *Hymn. ad Cer.*

² APOLLOD. i. 1, sec. 5; and 2, sec. 1.

³ DUBNER, *Fragm. Eurip. Anon. Trag. Frag.* 216.

⁴ ORPHEUS, *Hymn.* lviii. 114.

⁵ It was frequently customary among the ancients to represent two or more circumstances by the same emblem. It is therefore possible that the introduction of these horses may have reference to the Hymn to Minerva, in which Homer says,—

Στῆσεν δ' Ὑπερίωνος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς
Ἴππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον.

⁶ ζωαρκεὸς ὡς ἀναπηγῆς

Αὐτὸς ἐχὼν κληῖδα.—PROCLUS, *Hym. ad Apol.*

⁷ APOLLOD. *Bibl.* xiv. 1. Dr. BRAUN considers it to be Bacchus, a deity who would be equally indicative of the earth.

period represented by the sculpture. The characters selected in such a composition would naturally be those existing at the period assigned, or such as pre-existed. Minerva's birth is proclaimed to Athens⁽¹⁾ and the earth, and a figure is very appropriately introduced, the appearance of which would indicate at once the connexion with Athens, and the novelty of the event portrayed.

There yet remains one vacant space in the southern extremity of the composition, corresponding to the position of Iris in the northern. It has been imagined that this space was occupied by Nike, advancing towards the virgin goddess; but it seems far more probable to suppose that the figure occupying this position would assimilate in attitude and character with the Iris of the opposite group; that is to say, that the figure occupying this position should be Mercury. The central group, which we have just considered, closed in by the figures of Mars and Venus on one side, and of Apollo and Neptune on the other, is Olympus. Within this region, every eye is directed to the new-born goddess, with the various tokens of joy, wonder, fear, or envy, as the different personages of the scene were influenced.

“The immortal gods were seized with admiration,”⁽²⁾

“At this startling sight to Olympus.”⁽³⁾

This unity of action alone can express the precise moment of time so essentially necessary to be indicated in this scene, especially if the figure of Minerva were represented in any other manner than as issuing from the very head of Jupiter. By the striking attitude given to the figure of Minerva, and the unity of action in the other figures, we may say,—

“Phidiæ signum simul adspectum et probatum est.”⁽⁴⁾

Outside the precinct of this sacred sphere, the individuals

¹ The reader must bear in mind the fable related by Pindar and Diodorus, respecting the first worship of Minerva at Athens and Rhodes.

² Σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας ἀθανάτους.—*Hom. Hymn. ad Min.*

³ φοβερὰν Σέαν Ολύμπῳ.—*ANACR.* liii.

⁴ *Cic. Brut.* 64.

who compose the terminal groups have their faces averted, as being unconscious of what is passing in the heavens above. Thus, Pluto is represented as being ignorant of the events transacting in Olympus (*Iliad*, xx. 61). Iris, however, is dispatched to the earth, and particularly to Attica, to announce the joyful event; while Mercury, on the other side, is commissioned by Jupiter to proclaim the news to the sad inhabitants of the realms below.

The representation, therefore, embraces the entire *Cosmos*: the scene takes place in the presence of the gods, but the event is immediately communicated to Gaia and Hades, to the living and the dead. Such an interpretation is, I conceive, both plain and evident; and one that, while it explains perfectly every requisite condition of the scene, completely answers every objection and difficulty that have been raised against the introduction and attitude of the several figures. The treatment seems at once simple and poetical, and, being so, it is essentially Greek. Had a Roman or a modern sculptor been called upon to indicate such a scene, he would probably have represented the city of Athens with a turreted crown, and a portion of the city, perhaps, on one side; and on the other he would have introduced grim Pluto and sad Proserpine, with the monster Cerberus. Instead of damaging the effect of his sculpture by the introduction of such objects of terror and aversion, the Greek artist, who loved everything that was beautiful, who represented even the Furies as of serene countenance, (¹) has here indicated that fearful place of abode, the Infernal Regions, by three quiet female figures, the graceful attitude of whose bodies is inimitable. The reclining or end figure, Clotho, the youngest of the sisters, is perfect loveliness!

“Nocturnal Fates! mild, gentle, gracious-fram’d,
Atropos, Lachesis, and Clotho nam’d.” (²)

¹ PAUS. i. 28, sec. 6.

² Ἄλλα μοι νυκτέριοι μαλακοφρονες ἡπιόθυμοι

Ἀτροπε, καὶ Λάχεσι, Κλωθῶ.—ORPHEUS, *Hymn*. lviii. 14.

It remains now to offer a few additional observations on the statue of Minerva, this being the point on which the whole of the present theory depends.

It fortunately happens, that portions of the head and bust of the Minerva of the western pediment have been preserved to us. These fragments are sufficient to show that the eyes were filled in with precious stones, that the helmet was of bronze, and that the ægis also was decorated with brazen serpents⁽¹⁾.

This toreutic decoration, this application of colour and metal, may serve as an evidence of the general application of polychromy to these sculptures; but care must be taken in the manner of adopting it. In the Æginetan and earlier sculpture, the whole figure was more or less painted, a custom derived from the practice of using wood, or terra-cotta, in early buildings. In the works of pure Greek art, colour must have been employed generally, or used with extreme caution.⁽²⁾ Either the whole building, its sculpture with its architecture, was

¹ Maintenant le fragment colossal de statue de Minerve a décidé la question : on ne peut y méconnaître l'égide, chaque point des angles est percé d'un trou, pour y pouvoir rapporter en bronze doré les glands précieux qui faisoient l'ornement. On a trouvé sur le plan inférieur du même fronton le demi-masque de la déesse ; ses yeux sont creusés pour y eucaster les globes d'une matière plus précieuse, ainsi que Phidias lui-même l'avoit pratiqué dans le colosse de la déesse placé dans le temple : un sillon, faisant le contour de son front, indique jusqu'où descendoit le casque de bronze doré qui le couronnoit.—VISCONTI, *Mémoire sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture qui appartenoient au Parthénon*. 8vo. Lond. 1816, p. 23-25.

² In referring to the sculptured pediment of the British Museum, it is due to the eminent artist who executed it to acknowledge its great superiority over other similar works in the metropolis : at the same time, a slight want of balance, a want of delicacy in the drapery, a preponderance of straight lines, the Atlas-like position of one figure of the pediment, and the doubtful authority of introducing sculpture *en ronde-bosse* to an Ionian building, prevent my considering it as wholly satisfactory : added to which, the manner in which gilding is applied to so many parts of the composition is, to my mind, like a painting in which too many lights are introduced. Had it been considered necessary to represent the figure of Astronomy, it might have been sufficiently indicated without the introduction of an armillary sphere ; and, having this, it would not have been necessary to gild it. I must confess, when I first saw it, I thought the workmen had forgotten a portion of their centering, or a cradle for some work they had left unfinished. Connected with this subject, it has been well remarked by Colonel Leake, "that the gods were dis-

equally coloured, or those parts only were heightened in effect by colour, which were intended to be the most prominent, and to produce the greatest effect upon the eye.

With the exception of the parts just described, and of the spear and trident, which may have belonged to the two principal actors, the remaining figures exhibit no evidence of metal decoration or gilding, and it is probable that they were not profusely ornamented with coloured pigments: ⁽¹⁾ for not only do we find indications of few accessorial ornaments connected with the other figures of the pediments, the delicate forms of which would require application of metal and gilding, but in no other head but that of Minerva, in the western pediment, were the eye-sockets filled in with precious stones. This circumstance is remarkable, as it shows that the effect was intended to be concentrated in the principal figure.

Now, if we find that the statue of Minerva in the western pediment was so conspicuously decorated, in a composition in

tinguished from one another, among the Athenians, more by countenance, attitude and form, than by symbols ;” and this remark will apply to their sculpture in general :

“Sua quemque Deorum
Inscribit facies.”—OVID. *Met.* vi. 1.

At the same time it must be remembered, that if other colours had been applied, so as to carry out the blue and gilding, all connexion would have been destroyed between the pediment and the rest of the architecture, the contrast between which is already too violent; and it was doubtless this circumstance which induced Sir Richard Westmacott to hesitate in adopting a complete polychromatic decoration. The blue colour, however, is exceedingly effective: * and altogether, notwithstanding the few objections just noted, the pediment enables us to form some idea of the glorious nature of the Parthenon-compositions in their pristine grandeur.

¹ From an examination of the Parthenon friezes, we learn that many parts of the sculptures were worked out in metal, painted to imitate marble: and it is probable that the minor accessories, as the hatchet of Vulcan, the sword of Mars, and the lyre of Apollo, were either of marble, or in imitation of that material; that the sceptres of Jupiter and Juno, being more important accessories, were of ivory; and that the arms of Minerva alone were gilt.—See *Desc. Ant. Marb. Brit. Mus.* viii. 38, 46, &c.

* The tympanum of the Parthenon appears to have been coloured *red*; and if we may judge from M. Hittorff's restoration, its effect must have been equally beautiful with the blue colour employed in the Æginetan pediment.

which she held little more than equal honour with her great rival, it is probable that, in the eastern pediment, her statue would be distinguished by even greater splendour. Her figure would be the principal object in the composition, and her arms and accoutrements would glitter with gold and colour. ⁽¹⁾ Not only would this be required by the laws of art, but the character and attributes of the divinity would demand such treatment at the hands of the sculptor.

In the hymn to this divinity, attributed to Homer, she is described as—

“ having warlike arms,
Golden, splendid.”⁽²⁾

And in the *Iliad* we read—

Among them was Minerva, blue-eyed maid !
Bearing the Ægis of immortal aid.
Round the bright rim a hundred serpents roll'd,⁽³⁾
Form'd the dread fringe, and seem'd to burn in gold :
Each finely wrought, as in a weaver's loom,
Each of pure gold, and each a hecatomb.⁽⁴⁾

In the description of Cleanthes' painting, Philostratus says—

“ It was difficult to perceive the nature of her armour, for as various as are the colours of the rainbow, so, sparkling by turns with changing light, appeared the armour of the goddess.”⁽⁵⁾

¹ In the Cospiano Mirror of Bologna (see figure, page 356), we perceive Vulcan shading his eyes with his hand from the dazzling splendour of Minerva's appearance.—*Annali*, 1851. p. 143.

² Πολεμῖῖα τεύχε' ἔχουσιν,
κρύσεα, παμφανόωντα.

³ Θώρακ' ἐχίδνης περιβόλοις ὠπλισμένον.—EUR. *Ion*, 993.

⁴ μετὰ δὲ, γλανκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
Αἰγίδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρίτιμον, ἀγήραον, ἀθανάτην τε
Τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσειοι ἡερέθονται,
Πάντες εὐπλεκέες, ἐκατόμβιοις δὲ ἕκαστος.—*Il.* ii. 446-449.

⁵ Τὴν δὲ ὕλην τῆς πανοπλίας οὐχ ἂν συμβάλοι τις. “Ὅσα γὰρ τὰ Ἴριδος χρώματα, παραλλαττόνσης ἐς ἄλλοτε ἄλλο φῶς, τοσαῦτα καὶ τῶν ὅπλων.—PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.

The splendour of Minerva's arms appears to have been the reason of selecting as the emblem of that divinity a bird, the sparkling nature of whose eyes seems to be alluded to in its name, γλαυξ.—EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* p. 87. Rome.

Thus, her image was one easily to be distinguished—

εἰκὼν ὥς ὀρᾶν.⁽¹⁾

Above her gorgeous,⁽²⁾ golden casque,

χρυσεοπήληξ,⁽³⁾

waved a lofty crest,

ὑπὸ λόφῳ κάρα,⁽⁴⁾ capite se totum tegit,⁽⁵⁾

radiant with gold—

χρυσόλοφος,⁽⁶⁾

Her face was characterized by extreme beauty—

καλὴ πᾶνυ,⁽⁷⁾ αἰεὶ καλὸν ὄμμα τὸ τίνας,⁽⁸⁾

Tresses of beautiful golden hair adorned her brows—

Ἀθηνῆ ἐϋπλόκαμος,⁽⁹⁾ λιπαροπλόκαμος.⁽¹⁰⁾ *Flava Minerva.*⁽¹¹⁾

Her bright blue eyes sparkled with liquid fire⁽¹²⁾—

oculos splendidos.⁽¹³⁾

The rosy blush of dawn suffused her cheeks—

τὸ δ' ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε πρόϊον, οἶαν ἡ ῥόδον.⁽¹⁴⁾

Golden wings appeared behind her shoulders—

χρυσᾶν πτερύγοι,⁽¹⁵⁾

Beautiful, ambrosial, golden wings hung upon her feet—

καλὰ πέδιλα, αμβρόσια, χρύσεια,⁽¹⁶⁾

Gold, purple, and blue were the colours of her vesture—

Triplíce colore pallium induebat, distinctum aureo, purpureo et cælesti.⁽¹⁷⁾

On her broad breast reposed

εὐρύστερνον Ἀθάναν⁽¹⁸⁾

The golden-fringed Ægis.⁽¹⁹⁾

¹ EURIP. *Herc. fur.* 998.

² LUCIAN. *Dial. Deor.* viii. See also the Sicilian coins of this divinity.

³ CALLIM. *Hym. in Lavac. Pall.* 43.

⁴ EURIP. *Herc. fur.* 997.

⁵ FULGENTIUS, *Myth.* ii. 3.

⁶ ARISTOPH. *Lysis.* 344.

⁷ LUCIAN. *Deor. Dial.* viii.

⁸ CALLIM. *Hymn. in Lavac. Pall.* 17.

⁹ HOM. *Il.* vi. 380; *Od.* viii. 40.

¹⁰ CALLIM. *Hymn. in Lav. Pall.* 32.

¹¹ OVID. *Amor.* i. 1, sec. 7, 8; *Fast.* vi. 652; *Trist.* i. 10, sec. 1. That her hair was golden, would appear from the colour of her eyes.

¹² The terrible nature of her blue eyes was supposed by many poets to have reference to the eyes of lions or other beasts of prey.—EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* A, 85, 86, *Rome*; PHURNUTUS, xx.

¹³ ALBRIC. *De Deor. Imag.* viii.; THEOCR. *Idyl.* xx. 25; ANAC. xxviii.

¹⁴ CALLIM. *Hym. in Lav. Pall.* 27, 28. Compare ANACR. liii. 33, *de Rosa.*

¹⁵ *Ut supra*, pp. 376, 377.

¹⁶ *Ut supra*, p. 376.

¹⁷ ALBRIC. *De Deor. Imag.* viii. Compare ATHENÆUS, v. 197, d. "triplices tunieas." ARNOB. *adv. Gent.* 112, lib. iii.

¹⁸ THEOCR. *Idyl.* xviii. 36.

¹⁹ *Ut supra*, p. 399.

She wielded a golden spear—

χρυσολόγχος παλλάδος,⁽¹⁾

And on her golden shield

Παλλάδος χρυσάσπιδος⁽²⁾

a golden Gorgon glittered.

χρυσῆν ἔχουσα Γοργόν'.⁽³⁾

These several particulars of the attributes and appearance of Minerva were regarded by the ancients as of distinct moral import. They signify that *Wisdom* is concealed, and has to be sought for; but that when she is exposed she becomes evident to all men. They show us the beauty of wisdom, its variety and richness, its adorning grace, its elevating character, its velocity of conception, its persuasive eloquence, its constant watchfulness, its invincible strength, its powerful protection, its acute penetration, its resistless force, its confusion of error, and its universal supremacy.

The question of the true front of the Parthenon is now definitively settled, but the subject affords us this consideration: the western portico being that nearest to the Piræus and the Propylæa, and therefore that first seen, would, with the magnificent arrangement of its pyramidal sculpture, naturally excite the admiration of the stranger visiting the city for the first time; after viewing which with suitable attention and delight, we may imagine the pleasure the citizens would experience in leading him up to what he might have considered the Opisthodomus, and witnessing the wonder and ecstasy with which he would behold this transcendently superior composition.⁽⁴⁾ At the western extremity of the temple they would explain to him the importance and power of their protecting deity, and the zealous care and protection she constantly manifested to their favoured land; at the eastern they would point out the higher advantages they received from the spiritual character of the goddess,—her

¹ EURIP. *Ion*, 9; ARISTOPH. *Thesmoph.* 325.

² EURIP. *Phoen.* 1387; *crystal* shield, GYRALD. *Hist. Deor. Syntag.* 339, F; ALBRIC. *De Deor. Imag.* viii.

³ EURIP. *Fragm.* 354, *Erechth.* v.

⁴ Of whatever nature it might have been, as designed by Phidias.

ethical as contrasted with her physical nature,—and assert the pre-eminence in wisdom of the Athenians over the other Greeks, by reason of the power and attributes of the virgin goddess.

This soaring attitude of Minerva, raised from the ground and rising upwards with extended arms, is in perfect analogy with the subject of this pediment as distinguished from the western. In the one all is conflict and contention; in the other a divine tranquillity pervades the whole. There the attention is confined to the land of Attica; Neptune is vainly contending against Minerva for the ground,—but in the eastern pediment we behold the spiritual dominion of the goddess; the mind is absorbed by the excellency of wisdom. The daughter of *Metis*, endued with the sovereignty of omnipotence, despises mundane enjoyment, and fixes her regard on spiritual excellence—

“Unconscious of base earth’s control.”⁽¹⁾



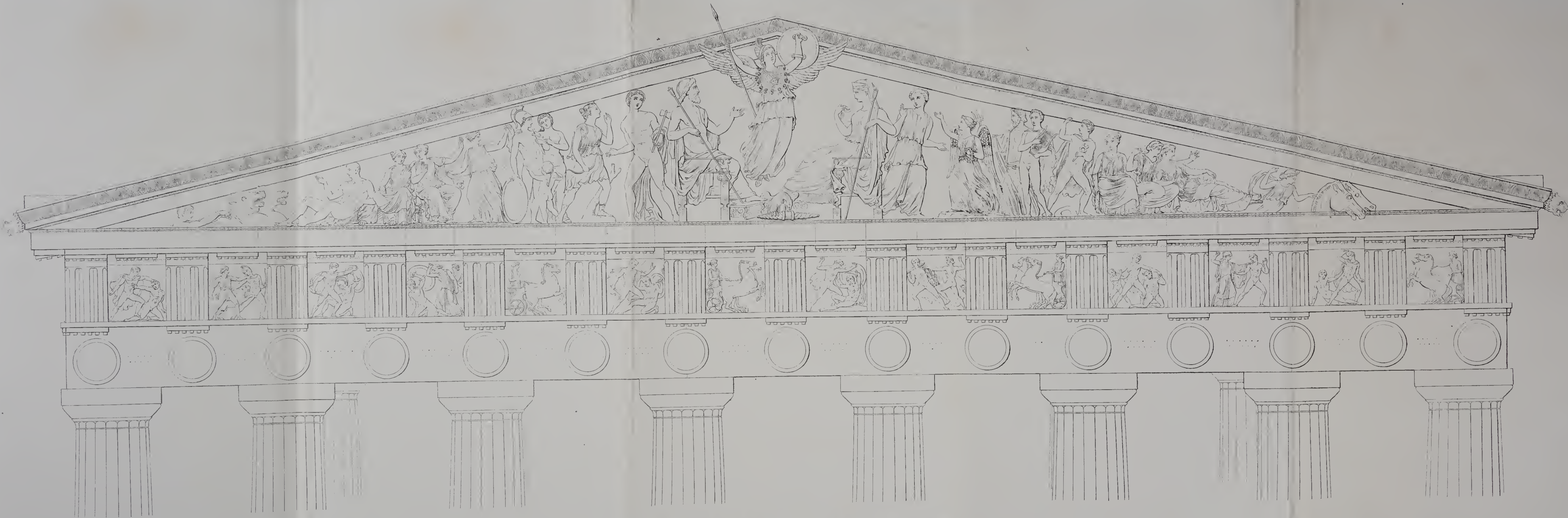
ὦ μέγα σεμνὰ Νίκα, τὸν ἐμὸν
Βίον κατέχοις,
καὶ μὴ λήγῃς στεφανοῦσα.

1851.

EDWARD FALKENER.

¹ TAYLOR'S *Proclus, Hymn to Minerva*.

The *tail-piece* of this essay exhibits a first design for the centre of this composition, by which Minerva would appear above the head of Jupiter, and in which the figure would assume the form of an aeroterrial ornament. The reader can select which he pleases.



THE EASTERN PEDIMENT
OF THE
PARTHENON.

AS RESTORED BY E. FALKENER

DAY & SON LITHO TO THE QUEEN



THE WESTERN PEDIMENT
OF THE
PARTHENON.

XXVII.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SELECT
COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON
THE EARL OF ELGIN'S COLLECTION OF SCULP-
TURED MARBLES.*March 25th, 1816.*

YOUR Committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject, without submitting to the attentive reflection of the House, how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts has contributed to the respect, character, and dignity of every government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of everything valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendour to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens, exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered considerable States eminent, and who have immortalized their own names by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of Phidias, and of the administration of Pericles; where, secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those who, by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.

LONDON :
SAVILL AND EDWARDS, PRINTERS, CHANDOS STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.



SPECIAL - 79-5102
ENDING.

N
5320
1198
V. 1

THE CITY OF
LIBRARY

